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SLAVERY IN THE ISLAND OF BULAMA.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD GREY, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY FOR
THE COLONIES, &C., &C.

MY LORD,—The attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been directed to a communication from her Majesty's Acting Commissary Judge at Sierra Leone, dated the 31st Dec., 1848, in which they find the following passage, and to which they beg respectfully to call your lordship's serious attention:—"The notorious Cayataneo, the Portuguese Governor of Bissao, has abolished the slave-trade, and is employing vast numbers of slaves in cultivating ground-nuts upon the British island of Bulama." This statement of the fact, without comment, leads the Committee to believe that the Acting Commissary Judge must be ignorant of the circumstance, that every form of slavery, as well as the slave-trade, is strictly prohibited in all the British African settlements, and that the parties guilty of violating the laws relative thereto have subjected themselves to heavy penalties.

When the Acting Commissary Judge says that the "notorious Cayataneo has abolished the slave-trade," the Committee presume that he means simply that he has ceased to export slaves to Cuba and Brazil, and is now in the habit of sending them to Bulama, and of employing them there for his own profit and advantage. Such being the case, this great slave trafficker has doubly violated British law, and should be taught that he cannot be permitted to do so with impunity.

It appears, from papers laid before Parliament in 1842, that Cayataneo, having received an authorisation from the Portuguese Government, attempted to settle on the island as far back as 1829. Orders, however, were sent out to dispossess him, and to assert the exclusive sovereignty of this country over it. In conformity with the instructions he had received, Lieut. Kellett, of her Majesty's brig *Brisk*, proceeded thither in December, 1838, attacked and destroyed the factory, and carried away 119 slaves; and, subsequently, another body of slaves, which their owner (Cayataneo) asserted were his domestics, notwithstanding the fact of their being discovered in fetters. In 1840, Lieut. Hill, of the *Saracen*, had an interview with the Governor of Bissao, on the subject of the occupation of Bulama by the Portuguese, and threatened to expel by force any Portuguese subjects he might find on the island. Notwithstanding these decided proceedings, Cayataneo, taking advantage of the supineness of the British authorities on the coast, has again taken possession of the island, and is employing there "vast numbers of slaves in cultivating ground-nuts."

The position of Bulama, at the entrance of the Rio Grande, renders it a most important port. The Select Committee of the House of Commons, in their Report on the West Coast of Africa, in 1842, thus refer to it:—"We would earnestly recommend to consideration the propriety of re-establishing the former British settlement on the island of Bulama. Its climate is certainly unhealthy; but we are not aware that it is more so than that of Sierra Leone, or of some other places on the coast. It might be, principally, if not entirely, occupied by British subjects of the negro race; and its position, both for checking the slave-trade of Bissao and its neighbourhood, and for drawing out the resources of several noble rivers, would be invaluable." The evidence laid before the Committee, by naval officers and merchants, more than bear out this view of the case.

In calling your early attention to this important subject, the Committee respectfully ask your lordship, in the first place, to give instructions that all the slaves illegally held in bondage in Bulama, by the Governor of Bissao, be immediately liberated, and protected

from injury and abduction from the island by that individual or any other party, on any pretence whatsoever. Secondly, That no property belonging to Senor Cayataneo may be allowed to be removed from the island, until they be indemnified for the services which they have, by unlawful means, been compelled to give him. Thirdly, That Senor Cayataneo, if found within British jurisdiction, be seized and tried for the violation of British law, and, on conviction, be punished accordingly. And fourthly, That measures be immediately taken to carry into effect the recommendations of the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa, in settling Bulama with British subjects of the class referred to, which the Committee believe can be done without much trouble or expense, to the manifest advantage of this country, and the general interests of humanity and freedom. Lying, as the island does, half way between the British settlements in the Gambia and Sierra Leone, it might be attached as a dependency to either of them, and be of great service to both.

I have the honour to be,

Your lordship's obedient servant,

JOHN SCOBLE,
Secretary.

Anti-Slavery Office,
27, New Broad Street, London,
3rd August, 1849.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The following extracts of despatches addressed by Mr. Rendall, British Consul at the Cape de Verd Islands, to Lord Palmerston, will be found to contain much interesting matter relating to Western Africa and the slave-trade.

FAILURE OF PAST EFFORTS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

I feel it my duty to acquaint your lordship that I have, for a number of years past, thought seriously upon the state of things in Western Africa, particularly in reference to the abolition of export slavery, believing that the system adopted by Government for the accomplishment of that object would not lead to the result so ardently desired by the friends of Africa. I therefore crave your lordship's permission to my addressing you upon this important subject, and to express my regret that one more efficient is not employed in the task; for my competency, however, it rests upon a knowledge of African affairs since the year 1812, and a close observation of the events affecting that interesting country since the date in question; besides the fact of having possessed the confidence of most of the leading men who directed affairs, and who unfortunately fell a sacrifice to the baneful diseases of the fatal clime.

CREWS OF CAPTURED SLAVERS.

In the first place, I would wish to draw your lordship's attention to the duties of the naval force; the efficient state, however, in which it is at present, leaves me but little to say, and therefore, at this time, I shall only remark upon a matter in which that force is nearly concerned. I allude to the disposal of the crews taken in slave-vessels. The destruction of the vessel is provided for by treaty or act of Parliament, but the crews are permitted to roam at large, and to infest the coast until chance enables them to get away. It appears to be the custom to land part of these men near where the vessel is captured, and to convey the remainder to Sierra Leone, to facilitate the condemnation of the prize. Many die from disease of the country, and very many of them join other

slave vessels wanting hands, and therefore they materially assist the export slave-trade; and it is notorious that these people, a number of whom are always to be found at Sierra Leone, are in frequent correspondence with the slave-factories, furnishing important information respecting the movements of the squadron. I believe that many of the slave vessels would have rotted in the rivers and creeks of Africa, for the want of hands to man them, had not these prize crews been in the way to render assistance. I think, therefore, that this description of people ought to be placed under some restraint, and sent from the coast, even should nothing be done to bring them to justice and punishment.

CONSENT OF AFRICAN CHIEFS NECESSARY TO THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

I feel, my lord, that the native persons and free people of Africa have been much neglected in the want of consulting them in the right means to employ to put down export slavery. I think if more attention had been given to this subject, some hopes would have been apparent at this date of the probability of the success of that great undertaking. It is my firm belief that export slavery is not to be effectually put down but by the consent of the powers in Africa, and I will hereafter show to your lordship that I am not singular in that opinion. I therefore earnestly recommend to your lordship to cause to be made, without loss of time, with the native powers of Africa, treaties, say of friendship, commerce, and the suppression of export slavery, desiring, at the same time, that every means may be used to conciliate them to our views. I recommend this measure to your lordship in the knowledge that these treaties can be made with facility, and that, when completed, they will be kept with that faithfulness hardly to be expected in such a quarter. Your lordship may be assured that power in Africa, whether for good or evil, is in the hands of the native chiefs and free people; they, therefore, having the will, can decide at once whether export slavery shall continue in all its horrors, or whether it shall be finally arrested. Let me, however, here inquire what effect our present measures have had upon these people? We have caused their rivers and coasts to be blockaded, and many other things to have been done, that have sometimes entailed great misery upon them. We, therefore, find them, in many cases, arrayed against our measures, and prepared to supply to the detestable dealer in human flesh the quality and quantity required.* They look upon our acts with suspicion, which is not surprising, when we leave them in the hands of the slave dealer, instead of confiding in and consulting them in matters which really concern them more than any one else; they are, however, a very tractable set, and, when better acquainted, I have no doubt of the good understanding that will subsist between our own governments and theirs. Some of the nations of Africa are of course more civilised than others; this difference is observable near our own settlements, and this fact will no doubt have great weight in considering the necessity of selecting favourable spots to be made dependencies to our present districts of government.

TREATIES WITH THE CHIEFS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The great expense that must follow the making of the treaties I have recommended to your lordship, may be put forward as a great objection; but in respect to this I will only suppose, for instance, that the year after these treaties are made, the chiefs have so faithfully attended to their engagements, that new slaves, either for the purpose of shipment or otherwise, have not been admitted into their territories; then I say, my lord, there will be less use for a squadron, and it may, consequently, be reduced, and in fact, ultimately, to that extent only necessary to protect legal commerce. The tillage of the soil is recommended to be encouraged, co-equal with the ardour shown to put down export slavery, consequently a large revenue may be secured to the native chiefs from this source, to render unnecessary on our part to expend little or no money.

CULTIVATION OF THE SOIL SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED.

The ground-nut is cultivated, at the present date, to a very great extent in some parts of the Western Coast, and it may be increased to almost any calculation without fear of the price in the market being materially affected. It produces the first quality of oil, and at present is used in the manufacture of fine soap and candles. The natives obtain about one shilling sterling a bushel in exchange for goods; and I calculate that about fifty shillings per acre, clear of all expense, is realised upon the quantity under cultivation. The seed yields abundantly, and the haulm is most nutritious, and well

adapted to the feeding and even fattening of cattle. I select this article as a case in point, showing what may be done in agricultural pursuits in Africa; but your lordship must be aware that I could name other articles which are equally advantageous to the grower, particularly rice and Indian corn. I am not only anxious to show that a great necessity exists for the encouragement of agricultural pursuits, but also that it may be carried on to insure a return equal to the capital and labour expended. I am also anxious that the free population of Africa be shown, by these means, that it is more to their interest to cultivate the soil of their birth, and sell the produce thereof to us and other fair traders, than it is to depend upon an intercourse with slave dealers, because I am sure that that decision will seal the fate of the export slave-trade. Let it be pointed out to them that their people will be the same at the end of the harvest and the division of its proceeds as when the tillage began, and, therefore, they are prepared to do the like annually, and with the same chances of success, their dealings being confined to the honest trader; describe the life of the slave dealer—the risks he endures in his kidnapping adventures, the risk of being made a slave himself, and oftentimes the risk of losing his own life; let the life of both be compared, and there can be no doubt but that the African will prefer the life of honest industry.

CONDITION OF THE AFRICANS.

The life of the African is one of idleness; he has nothing to stimulate his mind or actions—his wants are few, as he has no ambition—the gains by slavery are easily acquired, and he cultivates no more ground than necessity requires. It has happened that a year of scarcity has arrived, the crops have entirely failed, a temporary stoppage has been put to export slavery. Slaves have therefore become of no value, and the owners, unable to support them, have ordered their throats to be cut. This, my lord, I am sorry to say, is no fiction. I have such information from quarters too respectable to be doubted. I therefore urge the absolute necessity of encouraging agricultural pursuits by all the means possible. Let not the African be excused, in consequence of want, for the commission of such atrocities. Give to the domestic slave a proper knowledge of the tillage of the soil, and I feel it will be the means of securing his own emancipation, as will general cultivation extinguish domestic slavery, and finally raise the African to a state of civilisation so ardently desired by the friends of Africa. I think also that it may be carried to an extent to permit a duty to be put on export, for the benefit of the chiefs in whose country the work is carried on, and that the British Government will ultimately be relieved from the great expense she is now subjected to, in her exertions for the abolition of export slave-trade in Western Africa.

FAVOURABLE POSITIONS ON THE COAST OF AFRICA FOR CARRYING ON OPERATIONS.

I think it of very material consequence that we place ourselves in positions where we can with facility cultivate a good understanding with the native chiefs of the neighbourhood, and where we can observe their actions, and test the truth of their declarations of attachment to us and our measures. Such positions would, no doubt, be found to do great service. An intelligent officer at these places would very soon be able to obtain an influence over the natives to put down export slavery, besides rendering important services to the cruisers. For these reasons, and for the great good they would confer upon the success of the abolition, I earnestly recommend to your lordship the propriety of establishing out-posts at the following places:—I would say, take a position in the Casamansa River; establish a post at Bulama; take possession of one of the islands south of the Bissao shoals; take a position in the Nunez and Pongos Rivers; a position at the Isles de Los; also at the Plantains and Bananas; also one upon the Kroo coast; another in the Bight of Benin; and give authority to the missionary establishment at Fernando Po.

France holds the possessions of Gorce and Senegal, besides one in the Casamansa River, and two or three near the Gold Coast. The Portuguese hold the possessions of Cacheo, Bassao, Angola, Princes, St. Thomas, and Benguela, upon the Western Coast, and Mozambique and Quillimane on the Eastern Coast. The Dutch and Danes hold forts upon the Gold Coast, and a society in the United States have settlements at Cape Mount and Cape Palmas (Liberia). The Governments of these settlements might be called upon to give directions to their officers to act in unison with ours, and thereby show to the native chiefs, that although we differ in language and

the colours of our flags, yet we perfectly agree in the same anxiety to put down export slavery, and in the encouragement of agricultural pursuits.

DECLINE OF THE SLAVE-TRADE AT SENEGAL.

I was a resident in the Senegal during the years 1812, 1813, 1814, and 1815, to 1817; in the first three years the people had been brought to believe that the white men no longer wanted slaves, the nearest place where any contraband was known being in the Portuguese possession of Bissao. We had had possession of this place from 1809, and not a slave had been shipped. The country along the banks of the river, and particularly near the settlement, was well cultivated with Indian corn and maize; the feeding pounds were well supplied with stock of every description; the rivers and creeks were planted with the nets of the fishermen; the people journeyed from the interior in the pursuit of trade, and in visits from village to village, with perfect safety, and without the presence of fire-arms; the evenings passed in song and dance, and the greatest plenty, contentment, and security, was observed from one end of the district to the other.

REVIVAL OF SLAVE-TRADE AT SENEGAL.

The year 1814 brought great misery to these poor people: the French had revived the slave-trade for five years, and it was agreed by England to restore the colony to them; the merchants and inhabitants bought slaves, and established depôts upon the main land; the natives were urged to kidnap one another, and all confidence was at an end; the ground remained untilld, the herds of cattle were no longer to be seen, and people only appeared in large bodies and well armed. The horrid traffic absorbed people's minds, and wishes were often expressed for the speedy lowering of the English flag, that the French might be hoisted, and permission given for the shipment of the slaves to the West Indies.

Such, my lord, was the state of happiness and misery witnessed by me at the periods alluded to, and I feel satisfied, that in proportion as export slavery is put down by the will and consent of the native chiefs and free people of Africa, so in like manner will the face of the country and the condition of the people change for the better, and the same plenty, contentment, and security, which I have spoken of, be again revived.

OPINION OF SIR CHARLES M'CARTHY.

The late Governor-General, Sir Charles M'Carthy, was a warm supporter of the necessity of conciliating the native powers. He believed that the time would arrive when they could be made use of to carry out the work of their own emancipation; and had that lamented officer lived to see the promising results derived from the growth of the ground-nut, he would have exclaimed that that period had now arrived.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL TURNER.

The late Governor-General Turner, who shortly followed in the Government of General McCarthy, commenced his career of government by making treaties of commerce, friendship, and for the abolition of slavery, with the native powers, and left nothing undone in his endeavours to conciliate them to his views; his career was however short, he lost his life from too much exposure; and besides, he had required from the chiefs a condition to resign the sovereignty of their country to great Britain, which was displeasing to the Government; these treaties therefore became a dead letter, although his plan, with that single exception, was approved by every one acquainted with African affairs. He firmly believed that the export slavery was only to be put down by the consent of the native powers, and he treated the effects to be produced by the squadron as only secondary to the end to be accomplished in conciliating these people to our views.

GOVERNOR RENDALL.

My late brother, who was governor in the Gambia, served in the Governments of the two lamented officers I have alluded to, and he entertained the strongest opinions, but quite in unison with them. His firm belief was, that export slavery was only effectually to be put down with the consent of the native powers and head men of the country. He was the first to bring the growth of the ground-nut into notice, he used his best exertions to increase it by every means possible, and at the period of his death, it had been so

beyond every expectation. Had he lived to return to his native country, it was his full intention to have brought the growth of this fruit under the particular attention of her Majesty's Government; his impression was, that it could be applied to the most beneficial uses, imparting wealth to the native African to secure the abolition of export slave-trade, and the rearing in its place an honest and beneficial industry, securing the education, and consequently the civilisation of the African.

In reconciling the native chiefs and free people of Africa to agree with the recommendations to put down the export slave-trade, and rearing in its place honest industry, by the means of agricultural pursuits, some trouble must no doubt be taken, and a large amount in the first instance disbursed; but as I have before said, the first point to be considered is the extent of good expected from the plan proposed, because, if successful, whatever amount may be expended will be saved to the Government by the curtailment of other expenses, besides a strong belief existing, that when the measures are fully carried out, a revenue may be secured, to prevent any further outlay necessary on account of the abolition of slavery in Western Africa. I am anxious to see measures carried out to render the people of Africa at least contented; the pursuit of agriculture must therefore be encouraged with an equal ratio as the ardour for the abolition of slavery is acted upon; the native African, like all other people, must be made industrious, or the consequences may be imagined; and I am satisfied that industry will increase as slavery declines, guaranteeing the belief that no more will be heard of the destruction of human life, for the want of knowing what to do with the people.

BULAMA — ITS IMPORTANCE IN RELATION TO COMMERCE AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

I am induced to bring this subject again before your lordship, because, in expressing the opinion I did in reference to populating the island of Bulama, I only touched upon one means which I considered practicable, when, in fact, the place possesses other means, almost within its boundary, to populate the whole of the island. There is in the immediate neighbourhood of the Portuguese settlement of Bissao (which is only a few miles from Bissao), a free and hardy race of people, called Grumettes; they are civil, hard-working, and tolerably civilised. I have every reason to believe that these people will avail themselves of the protection of the English flag, the moment one is hoisted at Bulama, and a Government established there.

The place is very unhealthy, yet more healthy than Bissao. The soil is of the very best kind, and will repay in cultivation any expense necessary to be laid out upon the land. Some fine ship-timber is to be found upon the island, and in great quantities in the immediate neighbourhood. The island is known to Senhor Cayataneo Nozillima, the noted slave-dealer, as eligible for cultivation; and I learn that he employs a large number of people there in the growth of the ground-nut and Indian corn.

Bulama is a most important point in every respect; it is capable of telling everything that may be passing under the Portuguese flag, as also in the neighbouring islands, which have for a long period been used as a rendezvous for Spanish and Portuguese vessels engaged in the detestable slave-trade. An active coloured gentleman in command, with a few soldiers, would in a short time be able to expose such transactions, and I feel convinced the export slave-trade would not long exist in that neighbourhood.

EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

The following statement, drawn from the Ninth General Report of the Colonial Land Emigration Commissioners, contains the substance of the official information received by the Government up to the termination of the year 1848.

MAURITIUS.

The position of this colony with respect to immigrant labour is exhibited very forcibly by a census of the island which has been lately received, made up to August, 1846. The whole population is 161,089, of which 55,479 are classed as "general population," 49,365 as ex-apprentices (or emancipated slaves), and 56,245 as

Indians. Of the ex-apprentices not more than 486, or about 1·7 per cent., are engaged in the cultivation of sugar, and of this small number more than half are employed as clerks. Of the Indians, 41,692, or about seventy per cent., are employed on sugar estates. It is estimated that of the latter class about 10,000 belong to the old immigration of 1834 and 1838, and may probably, therefore, be considered as permanently settled in the colony.

By later returns we find that the whole number of Indians imported since the re-opening of the immigration in 1842 is 72,490, of whom 7152 have since died, and 7349 have returned to their country, leaving 57,989 still in the colony. If to this we add the survivors of the former emigration, the present Indian population may be estimated at about 67,000. A considerable reduction, however, will immediately take place, as the immigrants of 1842 and 1843, who are now entitled to return passages at government expense, are beginning to leave the colony.

According to the last intelligence no large number of Coolies had applied for their back passage. The number of such applicants, during the month of October, 1848, was only 389. But until the sugar crop is gathered in, and the Coolies have recovered the arrears of wages due to them, it will not be known how many more are about to follow their example. Meantime the supply of emigrants from Calcutta, partly owing to a scarcity of shipping, has fallen somewhat in arrear, and the planters, who are naturally anxious to maintain a full supply of labour, have in consequence renewed their request that Madras should be re-opened for immigration, and they estimate that this step, far from increasing the cost of the emigration, will even diminish it. Your lordship has accordingly authorised the governor to enter into the necessary communication with Sir Henry Pottinger to re-open the immigration from Madras, and to appoint an agent at that port, in case he should find it possible to do so, without increasing the cost of the immigration.

We regret to perceive that the difficulty of finding female emigrants still continues.

With regard to the general results and state of this immigration, we have to notice several circumstances of a satisfactory nature. It has been already said, that more than two-thirds of the Indians now in the island appear to be actually employed in the sugar cultivation. We have to add, that although no marked difference is perceptible in the returns of absentees, yet no complaints have recently reached us of the prevalence of desertion and vagrancy, and that a gradual fall has occurred in the general rate of wages. By a recent return of rates of wages at which engagements were made in the several months of 1848, we observe that while of the engagements in the first month of the year, 61 per cent. were made at the rate of 14s. per month and upwards (exclusive of rations), the proportion of similar engagements in the following December was less than 10 per cent. At 12s. per month, the proportion of engagements in January was 30 per cent.; in December 20 per cent. At 10s. or less per month, the proportion of engagements in January was about 8 per cent.; in December upwards of 62 per cent.

It will be seen that in 1845 the crop rose from 71,000,000lbs. to 114,000,000lbs. soon after the re-opening of the immigration, nor has it ever since fallen much below that amount. The sugar crop of the present year is described by the governor as promising to be little inferior to that in 1846, and likely to be much superior to that of preceding periods. We further learn, that the disorders which used to prevail in the depôt have disappeared under the judicious management of Mr. Hugon, and that on some other estates the metayer system of cultivation has been introduced with very happy results. Laws for regulating the relations of masters and servants, and the duties and rights of immigrants, which have been the subject of much negotiation, have finally received approval, subject to the single condition that immigration shall not be allowed to proceed at Government expense, unless a stamp duty is re-imposed on contracts of service, as required by your lordship's heads of an ordinance.

Finally, your lordship's despatch of 24th November, 1848, has put an end to several perplexing questions of finance, by abolishing the distinction which has hitherto existed between the general revenue and the revenue applicable to emigration.

SUMMARY of the number of IMMIGRANTS introduced into Mauritius in each year since the Immigration from India was re-opened, distinguishing those arriving under the Bounty System from those introduced

under the plan of collecting and despatching the people from India by Government officers alone.

Year.	Nature of System.	No. of Ships.	Indians.				Chinese, &c.	Grand Total.
			Males.	Females.	Children.	Total.	Males.	
1843	Bounty System ..	157	26,888	3,373	907	31,258	838	32,096
1844	Jan. 1 to Mar. 31, bounty system ..	43	7,451	1,157	452	9,060	..	9,060
	April 1 to Dec. 31, emigration conducted by Government officers alone	20	4,045	646	401	5,092	..	5,092
	Total, 1844 ..	63	11,496	1,803	853	14,152	..	14,152
1845	Emigration conducted by Government officers alone	44	7,677	1,462	1,146	10,285	5	10,290
1846	Ditto	27	4,847	1,150	793	6,790	..	6,790
1847	Ditto	26	4,845	562	322	5,729	..	5,729
1848	Ditto	21	4,445	564	294	5,303	..	5,303
Grand total, January, 1843, to December, 1848		338	60,108	8,914	4,404	73,516	843	74,359

Before concluding the subject of West Indian immigration, it may not be out of place to give the following statement of amounts expended since the year 1837, for immigration purposes, in the undermentioned colonies, compiled from returns received from those colonies, in compliance with an address of the House of Commons, dated 27th July last:—

Year.	Jamaica.	British Guiana.	Trinidad.	Grenada.	Tobago.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1838	3,070 17 8	—	16 13 4	—	—
1839	3,748 3 1	—	2,674 14 0½	—	—
1840	9,623 16 11	—	6,345 13 2	—	—
1841	18,340 9 3	54,857 17 8½	5,951 10 4	—	30 0 0
1842	34,009 11 8	21,304 15 8	12,328 0 10	—	—
1843	9,182 4 7	23,054 14 9	12,049 6 10	—	—
1844	10,980 4 10	2,211 11 3	12,229 6 9	—	65 0 0
1845	11,145 12 9	32,707 3 5	11,765 10 0	—	410 0 0
1846	29,597 18 10	77,264 16 2	48,607 3 2½	334 0 0	2,108 10 0
1847	45,507 17 8	86,971 4 10	34,440 14 7	1,186 0 0	7 0 0
1848	6,087 2 4	61,418 4 7½	474 12 6	—	—
	180,252 19 7	360,655 11 1	147,783 5 7	1,520 0 0	2,615 10 0

WEST INDIES—LANDS.

Regulations for the sale of crown lands in Antigua and Dominica respectively, have been made in the course of last year by the local government, of which the principal features are, that no smaller quantity may be sold than forty acres, except in certain localities intended for villages, and that the minimum price shall be at present £1 per acre, to be raised when circumstances shall render it expedient to do so. Precautions are taken to secure a proper notice of the sales and a sufficient description of the lands. Ten per cent. of the purchase-money is to be paid down at once, and the rest within a month; and if the highest bidder fails to comply with these terms, the next best bidder becomes entitled to the grant.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE WEST INDIES.

FROM INDIA.

We explained in our last report that Indian immigration into the West Indies would be brought to a termination after the expiration of the season 1847-48. It only remains, therefore, now to complete the information to that period. No ships were sent to Jamaica. It will be seen that the number of immigrants embarked for these two colonies was as follows:—

British Guiana 3,715
Trinidad 1,024

The above, added to the number sent in the three preceding years, make the total number despatched, from the commencement of the immigration in 1844, to its final termination in 1848, as follows:—

Into Jamaica 4,500
Into British Guiana 11,888
Into Trinidad 5,403

21,791

We regret to perceive that complaints of vagrancy, and consequent misery and destitution among the Madras Coolies, continue to be

made from Jamaica and British Guiana. In both these colonies the superior character and conduct of the Calcutta Coolies is strongly dwelt upon.

FROM AFRICA.

In our last report we mentioned the circumstances under which, after the discontinuance of the employment of her Majesty's steamer, the *Growler*, your lordship had instructed us to take measures for the despatch of a succession of suitable merchant vessels from this country, to call, first, at Sierra Leone for any newly-liberated Africans who might be ready to depart from thence; and if none were forthcoming, then to proceed to the Kroo coast, with a view of obtaining emigrants from that country. We also mentioned that, in pursuance of this plan, four vessels had been licensed for Jamaica, the same number for British Guiana, and two for Trinidad; and that each of these vessels, with the exception of two, had received a guarantee against the risk of a deficiency of emigrants.

Her Majesty's Government has since decided that the expense of transferring liberated Africans from the African yard to the West Indies, subsequent to the employment of the *Growler*, should be defrayed from British funds, at rates of payment not exceeding the bounties hitherto authorised. We have also been instructed to discontinue the giving any guarantee against a failure of emigrants. This arrangement does not of course extend to emigrants already located, who may have left the Government yard, or to Kroomen. The bounty on these classes of emigrants is left, as before, to be paid by the importing colony. Since the employment of the *Growler* was discontinued, fourteen vessels have left Sierra Leone with 3,176 emigrants on board, of which—

5 vessels carrying 1,205 persons proceeded to Jamaica.	
4 " 906 " British Guiana.	
2 " 212 " Trinidad.	
1 " 236 " St. Vincent.	
1 " 250 " Grenada.	
1 " 367 " St. Lucia.	

All these persons, except one, have been liberated Africans, still under the care of Government.

We are happy to state, that since the adoption of measures for the preservation of the health of the emigrants during these voyages, the mortality on board has diminished in a very striking manner. In the five ships despatched from Sierra Leone before these changes were made, the mortality was nearly at the rate of 12 per cent.; and in one ship no less than fifty-two persons died. In the ships which have taken emigrants since that time it has fallen below 1½ per cent.

FROM ST. HELENA.

During the last half year of 1847, the number of liberated Africans at St. Helena was small, and no emigration took place from the island. We mentioned, however, in our last report, that instructions had been given to carry prizes captured south of the line to St. Helena, instead of to Sierra Leone. Since this has been done, the number of captured Africans landed in this island has been very large; and at times nearly 900 persons have been at once under the Government charge.

Between April 6, 1847, and June 12, 1848, 2,242 Africans had been landed in the island, of whom 1,076 had emigrated, 433 had died, 68 had been engaged as servants in the island, and 670 remained under the charge of Government. Since that time the governor has reported the arrival of 1,243 more Africans, and the chartering of three ships, in which more than 900 persons have left the island for the West Indies. Three more ships have been engaged by us in this country for the same service. One of them obtained a cargo at Sierra Leone, and proceeded no farther; but the two others (the *Tropic* and the *Bathurst*) will carry about 500 Africans to Jamaica and Trinidad. We gather, from the governors' despatches, that in the course of November the number of Africans in the liberated yard must have been reduced to about that number.

It may be in place here to state, that the owners of the *Tropic* and *Bathurst* received a guarantee to the amount of one-third of the whole freight, in case of a failure to obtain emigrants. As, however, we are not authorised by our present instructions to offer any such guarantee, we anticipate that shipowners, instead of contracting any engagement in this country, will prefer sending their ships to St. Helena, where they can obtain the same terms from the Government which this Board is authorised to offer.

FROM HAVANA.

The following is a return of Africans emancipated by the Mixed Court of Justice at the Havana, who have emigrated to Jamaica in the last three years:—

Year.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
1846	87	52	23	162
1847	46	27	8	81
1848	27	11	3	41

FROM MADEIRA.

The number of Madeira immigrants into the West Indies, in the years 1846, 1847, and 1848, according to such returns as we have received, is as follows:—

Destination.	1846.	1847.	1848.	Total.
British Guiana	5,975	3,755	195	9,925
Trinidad	379	346	Nil.	725
St. Vincent	1,302	460	86	1,848
Grenada	No return, say 153	438	Nil.	438
Antigua	Nil.	1,068	7	1,075
Dominica	164		Nil.	164
St. Kitt's	80	5	Nil.	85
Nevis	Nil.	427	Nil.	427

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

The Secretary of the Society, in communicating the following information, thus writes:—"Having obtained access to official documents connected with the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, I send for the *Reporter* the notes I have made upon, and the extracts I have taken from them, which, no doubt, will interest its readers."

POPULATION OF THE FRENCH COLONIES.

	Free.	Slaves.
Martinique .. (1846)	47,352	75,339
Guadeloupe, &c. ,,	40,429	89,349
Bourbon	45,512	62,151
Nossi Bé		
Nossi Cumba } ..	14,826	7,698
Nossi Falli .. }		
Nossi Mitsiou }		
St. Mary, (Madag.),,	3,465	2,415
Senegal	8,427	10,113
	160,011	247,065

The number of slaves in Algiers was estimated at 10,000. In the other dependencies of France—viz., Pondicherry, Karikal, Yanaon, Chandernagor, Mahé, Mayotte, Miguelon, and St. Pierre, it is said there were no slaves.

PRINCIPLES ON WHICH EMANCIPATION WAS BASED.

The Commission appointed by the Provisional Government to prepare the necessary measures in connection with the abolition of slavery, state, in their report, that they could accept no modification of the principle of immediate emancipation, which they regarded as an "imperious duty," but that it was necessary to adopt measures, in order that "the great act of reparation should be performed in a manner the most useful to those who had been the victims of the crime of slavery." In drafting the Act of Emancipation, the Commission says—"Considering slavery to be a crime against humanity; that, in destroying the personality of men, it destroys the fundamental principle of right and of duty; and that it is a flagrant violation of the republican doctrine—'Liberty, equality, and fraternity,' it be decreed that slavery shall be entirely abolished in all the French colonies and possessions, two months after the promulgation of the decree, and that, in the meantime, all corporeal punishments, and the sale of persons, not free, shall be absolutely interdicted."

We need not enter into details, beyond recording the fact that the National Assembly ratified the decree of the Provisional Government of 1848, and that, now, every portion of French territory throughout the world is free from the curse of slavery.

EMIGRATION TO THE FRENCH COLONIES.

Anticipating that there would probably be a falling off in the amount of labour available for the cultivation of the estates, the Commission took the question of a supply of labourers into its serious consideration. The Report on this subject is a remarkably able document, but is too long to be translated. The Commission says—"That a well-understood and rightly-directed emigration would be beneficial to the colonies; but, in order to secure it, they would not revive the slave-trade under disguised forms." They therefore oppose African emigration generally, except, under stringent regulations, from Senegal and Goree, on the western coast of Africa, and Abyssinia in the east. They look, however, to Europe principally for a supply of labourers, and consider that, if there be a proper distribution of such labourers, and that proper precautions are taken to preserve their health, it would prove beneficial to them, and to the colonies to which they might be induced to resort. We differ from the Commission in this respect, and are of opinion that the emigration of white labourers to the French colonies, except in small numbers, and for employment in the mountainous districts, would end in disappointment to all parties. Upon inquiry, we are persuaded that few of the peasantry in France, and that none of the artisans, can be induced to leave their homes for Guadaloupe and Martinique; and that, judging from the total failure of European emigration to our colonies, it will be wise, on the part of the French Legislature and Government, to give no heed to the suggestion.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

(Continued from page 120.)

II. THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN THE SLAVE STATES.

The maxim that "knowledge is power," has ever more or less influenced the conduct of aristocracies. Education elevates the inferior classes of society, teaches them their rights, and points out the means of enforcing them. Of course, it tends to diminish the influence of wealth, birth, and rank. In 1671, Sir William Berkley, then Governor of Virginia, in his answer to the inquiries of the Committee of the Colonies, remarked, "I thank God that there are no free schools nor printing presses, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." The spirit of Sir William seems still to preside in the councils of his own Virginia, and to actuate those of the other slave States.

The power of the slaveholders, as we have already showed you, depends on the acquiescence of the major part of the white inhabitants in their domination. It cannot be, therefore, the interest or the inclination of the sagacious and reflecting among them, to promote the intellectual improvement of the inferior class.

In the free States, on the contrary, where there is no caste answering to your slaveholders—where the *people* literally partake in the government, mighty efforts are made for general education; and, in most instances, elementary education is, through the public liberality, brought within the reach of the children of the poor. You have lamentable experience that such is not the case where slaveholders bear rule.

But you will receive with distrust whatever we may say as to the comparative ignorance of the free and slave States. Examine, then, for yourselves the returns of the last census on this point. This document gives us the number of white persons over twenty years of age in each State, who cannot read and write. It appears that these persons are to the *whole* white population in the several States as follows, viz. :—

Connecticut,	1 to every 568	Louisiana,	1 to every 38½
Vermont,	1 " 473	Maryland,	1 " 27
N. Hamp.,	1 " 310	Mississippi,	1 " 20
Mass.,	1 " 166	Delaware,	1 " 18
Maine,	1 " 108	S. Carolina,	1 " 17
Michigan,	1 " 97	Missouri,	1 " 16
R. Island,	1 " 67	Alabama,	1 " 15
New Jersey,	1 " 58	Kentucky,	1 " 13½
New York,	1 " 56	Georgia,	1 " 13
Penn.,	1 " 50	Virginia,	1 " 12½
Ohio,	1 " 43	Arkansas,	1 " 11½
Indiana,	1 " 18	Tennessee,	1 " 11
Illinois,	1 " 17	N. Carolina,	1 " 7

It will be observed, by looking at this table, that Indiana and Illinois are the *only* free States, which in point of education are

surpassed by *any* of the slave States; for this disgraceful circumstance three causes may be assigned, viz., their recent settlement, the influx of foreigners, and emigration from the slave States. The returns from New York, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, are greatly affected by the vast number of foreigners congregated in their cities, and employed in their manufactories and on their public works. In Ohio, also, there is a large foreign population; and it is well known that comparatively few emigrants from Europe seek a residence in the slave States, where there is little or no employment to invite them. But what a commentary on slavery and slaveholders is afforded by the gross ignorance prevailing in the old States of South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina! But let us proceed. The census gives a return of "scholars at public charge."

Of these, there are in the free States 432,173
" " slave States 35,580

Ohio alone has 51,812 such scholars,—more than are to be found in the thirteen slave States. Her neighbour Kentucky has 429. Let us compare in this particular the *largest* and the *smallest* State in the Union.

Virginia has scholars at public charge..... 9,791
Rhode Island 10,912

But we have some *official* confessions, which give a still more deplorable account of Southern ignorance. In 1837, Governor Clarke, in his message to the Kentucky legislature, remarked, "By the computation of those most familiar with the subject, *ONE THIRD OF THE ADULT POPULATION OF THE STATE ARE UNABLE TO WRITE THEIR NAMES.*"

Governor Campbell reported to the Virginia legislature that from the returns of ninety-eight clerks it appeared that of 4614 applications for marriage licences in 1837, *no less than 1047 were made by men unable to write.*

These details will enable you to estimate the impudence of the following plea on behalf of slavery :—

"It is by the existence of slavery, exempting so large a portion of our citizens from the necessity of bodily labour, that we have leisure for *intellectual pursuits*, and the means of attaining a liberal education."—*Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, on Slavery. —Southern Literary Messenger, Oct. 1838.*

Whatever may be the leisure enjoyed by the slaveholders, they are careful not to afford the means of literary improvement to their fellow-citizens who are too poor to possess slaves, and who are, by their very ignorance, rendered more fit instruments for doing the will, and guarding the human property of the wealthier class.

III. INDUSTRY AND ENTERPRISE.

In a community so unenlightened as yours, it is a matter of course, that the arts and sciences must languish, and the industry and enterprise of the country be oppressed by a general torpor. Hence multitudes will be without regular and profitable employment, and be condemned to poverty and numberless privations. The very advertisements in your newspapers show that, for a vast proportion of the comforts and conveniences of life, you are dependent on Northern manufacturers and mechanics. You both know and feel that slavery has rendered labour disgraceful among you; and where this is the case, industry is necessarily discouraged. The great staple of the South is cotton; and we have no desire to undervalue its importance. It is, however, worthy of remark, that its cultivation affords a livelihood to only a small proportion of the free inhabitants, and scarcely to any of those we are now addressing. Cotton is the product of slave-labour, and its profits at home are confined almost exclusively to the slaveholders. Yet, on account of this article, we hear frequent vaunts of the agricultural riches of the South. With the exception of cotton, it is difficult to distinguish your agricultural products arising from slaves, and from free-labour. But, admitting what we know is not the fact, that *all* the other productions of the soil are raised *exclusively* by free-labour, we learn from the census that the agricultural products of the North exceed those of the South, cotton excepted, \$226,219,714. Here, then, we have an appalling proof of the paralyzing influence of slavery on the industry of the whites.

In every community a large portion of the inhabitants are debarred from drawing their maintenance directly from the cultivation of the earth. Other and lucrative employments are reserved for them. If the slaveholders chiefly engross the soil, let us see

how you are compensated by the encouragement afforded to mechanical skill and industry.

In 1839 the Secretary of the Treasury reported to Congress that the tonnage of vessels built in the United States was 120,988; built in the slave States and territories, 23,600; or less than one-fifth of the whole! But the difference is still more striking, when we take into consideration the comparative value of the shipping built in the two regions:—

In the free States the value is \$6,311,805
In the slave do. 704,291

It would be tedious and unprofitable to compare the results of the different branches of manufacture carried on at the North and the South. It is sufficient to state that, according to the census, the value of the manufactures

In the free States are..... \$334,130,690
In the slave States 83,935,742

Having already compared Ohio and Kentucky in reference to population and education, we will pursue the comparison as to agricultural and mechanical industry. On account of contiguity, and similarity of extent, soil and climate, no two States can perhaps be so aptly contrasted for the purpose of illustrating the influence of slavery. It should also be borne in mind that Kentucky can scarcely be called a cotton State, having in 1840 raised only 607,456 lbs. of that article. Hence the deficiency of agriculture and other products in Kentucky arises, not from a peculiar species of cultivation, but solely from the withering effects of slavery.

	Ohio.	Kentucky.
Wool	3,685,315 lbs.	1,786,842
Wheat	16,571,661 bush.	4,803,152
Hay	1,022,037 tons	88,306
Fulling mills.....	205	5
Printing-offices.....	159	34
Tanneries	802	387
Commercial houses in foreign trade	53	5
Value of machinery manufactured	\$875,731	\$46,074

In one species of manufacture the South apparently excels the North, but unfortunately it is in appearance only. Of 9,657 distilleries in the United States, no less than 7,665 were found in the slave States and territories; but for want of skill and capital these yield 1,992 gallons less than the other.

Where there is so much ignorance and idleness we may well suppose that the inventive faculties will be but little exercised; and accordingly we find that of the 545 patents granted for new inventions in 1846, only eighty were received by the citizens of the slave States. We have thus, fellow-citizens, offered you the testimony of figures, as to the different state of society under freedom and slavery; suffer us now to present you pictures of the two regions, drawn not by abolitionists, but by Southern artists, in unguarded hours. Mr. Clowney, of South Carolina, thus portrayed his native State, in the ardour of debate on the floor of Congress:—

“Look at South Carolina now, with her houses deserted and falling to decay; her once fruitful fields worn out and abandoned for want of timely improvement or skilful cultivation; and her thousands of acres of inexhaustible lands, still promising an abundant harvest to the industrious husbandman, lying idle and neglected. In the interior of the State where I was born, and where I now live, although a country possessing all the advantages of soil, climate, and health, abounding in arable land, unreclaimed from the first rude state of nature, there can now be found many neighbourhoods where the population is too sparse to support a common elementary school for children. Such is the deplorable condition of one of the oldest members of this Union, that dates back its settlement more than a century and a half, while other States, born as it were but yesterday, already surpass what Carolina is or ever has been, in the happiest and proudest day of her prosperity.”

This gentleman chose to attribute the decline of South Carolina to the tariff, rather than to the obvious cause, that one-half of the PEOPLE of South Carolina are poor, ignorant, degraded SLAVES, and the other half suffering in all their faculties and energies, from a moral pestilence which they insanely regard as a blessing and not a curse. Surely it is not owing to the tariff, that

this ancient member of the Union has 20,615 white citizens over twenty years of age who do not know their letters; while Maine, with double her population, has only 3,241.

Now look upon a very different picture. Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, not long since delivered a speech at Columbia in reference to a proposed railroad. In this speech, in order to stimulate the efforts of the friends of the road, he indulged in the following strain:—

“No Southern man can journey (as he had lately done) through the Northern States, and witness the prosperity, the industry, the public spirit which they exhibit—the sedulous cultivation of all those arts by which life is rendered comfortable and respectable—without feelings of deep sadness and shame as he remembers *his own neglected and desolate home*. There, no dwelling is to be seen abandoned—not a farm uncultivated. Every person and everything performs a part towards the grand result; and the whole land is covered with fertile fields, with manufactories, and canals, and railroads, and edifices, and towns, and cities. We of the South are mistaken in the character of these people, when we think of them only as pedlars in horn, flints, and bark nutmegs. Their energy and enterprise are directed to all objects, great and small, within their reach. The number of railroads and other modes of expeditious intercommunication knit the whole country into a closely compacted mass, through which the productions of commerce and of the press, the comforts of life, and the means of knowledge, are universally diffused; while the close intercourse of travel and of business makes all neighbours, and promotes a common interest and a common sympathy. How different the condition of these things in the South! Here the face of the country wears the aspect of premature old age and decay. No IMPROVEMENT IS SEEN GOING ON, nothing is done for posterity. No man thinks of anything beyond the present moment.”

Yet this same Mr. Preston, thus sensitively alive to the superior happiness and prosperity of the free States, declared in the United States Senate, “Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina, if we can catch him we will try him, and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments of the earth, including the Federal Government, we will HANG him.” In other words, the slaveholders, rather than part with their slaves, are ready to murder, with all the formalities of law, the very men who are labouring to confer on them the envied blessings of the North.

(To be continued.)

ILLUSTRATION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

SLAVE AUCTION IN NEW ORLEANS.

Abolitionists are accused of overstating and colouring the worst features of the peculiar institution, and thereby exciting the feelings of freemen against it. How much this is the case may be learned from the following description of a slave auction by one who confesses himself to be “interested in the slave business.” This account is sufficiently light and flippant, no doubt—marvellously so—considering the fearful enormity of the crime, one of whose most detestable manifestations it professes to describe; but, if one interested is compelled thus to give his impressions, hiding and smoothing over, as he evidently does, very much of what he witnessed, may we not with justice entertain the suspicion that the most “rabid abolitionist” who has yet attempted to portray such scenes, has utterly failed, from the mere inadequacy of language, to convey to his readers anything more than a very shadowy and indistinct conception of the reality?—

“‘Have you ever been to the slave market?’ asked my friend Harris, as he took my arm and walked with me through Camp-street. I answered, ‘Nay;’ so we entered Bank’s Arcade. We observed a sign hanging out, with ‘Slaves for Sale’ painted on it; and along the front of the store, sitting on benches, exposed to the gaze of the purchaser and the curious, were the objects of our search. Some of them were large and strong negroes, black as your hat. These were the field or plantation hands—carmen or draymen. ‘This slim mulatto man is a barber,’ said the slave-dealer, who, observing we were strangers, stepped up, anxious to display and dispose of his property;—that they are property, is never questioned in this latitude. ‘But,’ continued the dealer, ‘he’s a first-rate waiter for an hotel or a steam-boat.’ A little farther along sat some females—strong, burly wenches, for farm-work, washing, or heavy house-work; near by, several good-looking yellow girls, with long, straight, black hair, pearly teeth, fresh and animated countenances. Some were engaged in conversation—some occupied themselves with sewing or knitting. They are nurses, seamstresses, or waiting-maids. In the squad were some of all ages and colours, from the child at the breast to the middle-aged man and father.

"It was a sale day—so we entered the auction building. Beard and Calhoun were the auctioneers. On a platform near the door stood the slaves to be sold; and the auctioneer, as he cried and discoursed of their separate merits, walked up and down in the rear, so as not to interfere with the sight of them. It did not require Mr. Beard to talk long, before we knew, by the manner in which he worried the V's and W's, that he is neither a native, nor 'to the manor born.'

"The first lot I have to offer you to-day," said Mr. B., 'is a family from a plantation—father, mother, and five children; what will you give for the lot, for they must be sold together?'—How kind of him. 'They are fully guaranteed, and sold under good characters. Dick, the father, aged thirty-five years, a leading man on the plantation; his wife, aged thirty-one years, cotton picker; Charles, twelve years; William, ten years; Thomas, seven years; Betsy, ten years; Maria, five years; and I am only offered two thousand dollars for the whole family!' They were eventually sold to a planter for 2,500 dollars.

"The next offered was Hermina, a pretty mulatress, about seventeen years old. 'She is,' said the auctioneer, 'a good seamstress and hair-dresser, raised in one family, and bears a good character.' The girl could scarcely withstand the rude gaze of the bidders and idlers, and turned her head aside, when Mr. B. ordered her to face about and look at the audience. A slave-dealer stepped up and requested her to open her mouth, which she did, and he examined her teeth in the same manner a jockey would a horse—he felt her breasts and shoulders with all the gusto of a connoisseur. But the slave-dealer did not get her, for a California adventurer became her purchaser, for the sum of 690 dollars.

"The next subject was the griffe man, Patrick, aged twenty years, 'a very likely man,' said Mr. B., 'having a good character—a good barber and house servant, fully guaranteed against the vices and maladies prescribed by law—(what they were we did not learn)—and is only sold because his mistress has just got married.' The biddings at this stage of the proceedings grew faint and languid, and as the indifference of the auditors increased, the red-faced auctioneer became excited and wrathful. He was not very choice in the selection of the epithets he liberally bestowed indiscriminately upon the motley group before him. 'You either don't want to buy, or you are all a set of fools,' said Mr. B., 'and if you have nothing else to do than to stand and gape at me, I have;' and suiting his actions to his words, he stepped from the platform, beckoned to his clerk, and walked off. This ended the sale. Patrick sold for 750 dollars.

"That I may not render myself liable to the imputation of pandering to sectional prejudices, or of treating a serious and unfortunate occurrence with too much levity, I would merely add, that I am personally and pecuniarily interested in the 'slave' business—but its extension and propagation by others meets with no favour from me."—*Phil. Sun.*

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER the 1st, 1849.

The great question of the suppression of the slave-trade has occupied a large share of public attention both in and out of Parliament; and will continue to do so until its solution, one way or another, be definitively decided. Several parties, under the influence of different motives and with different views, have taken part in the discussion, but they may be ranged under three heads. First, those who are the earnest advocates of the present system of suppression by armed cruisers. Secondly, Those who regard it as one among other means of suppression. And thirdly, Those who believe it to have proved not only inefficient, but injurious in its operations.

If the question which has been mooted were to be decided by an appeal to facts, it is quite clear the suppression of the slave-trade by a marine force, whether placed on the coast of Africa or elsewhere, has signally failed. Granting for a moment that at particular epochs, and under special circumstances, the slave-trade has been checked by our cruisers, it is evident, from the papers annually laid before Parliament, as well as from the evidence taken before Committees of the House of Commons, during the two last sessions, that, in spite of their number, their activity, and efficiency of equipment, they have not been able to control the export of slaves for Brazil, and that the slavers can and do supply the markets to the full extent required. The Hon. Captain Denman and Captain Matson, R.N., combat this opinion, though they are compelled to admit that, up to this time, the squadron has not suppressed the slave-trade. These zealous and intelligent officers have schemes of their own. They are honestly of opinion that, were they adopted and acted upon, the coast of Africa would soon be freed from the presence of the traffickers in human flesh, and that the great end for which the country has laboured so much, and spent such enor-

mous sums, would be accomplished. In opposition to their opinions, which are purely professional, we place those of Captain Mansell and Sir Charles Hotham, R.N., the late commander of the squadron on the coast. They are convinced that the operations of the squadron have proved and will prove futile, and that no modification of the force will ever accomplish the object aimed at. In dealing with Captain Denman's scheme, Sir Charles Hotham maintains it to be impossible of application. Captain Matson, in a letter addressed recently to the *Times*, finds fault with the quality of the vessels employed in the service, but neither he nor any other officer, in the evidence laid before Parliament, ventured to make a statement of this kind. On the contrary, the whole strain of the evidence went to prove that, for the last few years, the squadron had not only been greatly increased in number, and reinforced by steamers, but was efficient in every respect. In order to prove that the fluctuations of the slave-trade depend, not on the price of sugar, but on the success of the preventive squadron, Captain Matson quotes the following table, which we give, with his comments thereon:—

A.D.	Number of arrivals in Brazil and Cuba.		Number captured and emancipated by British Squadron.		Per centage captured by British squadron.	
	Vessels.	Slaves.	Vessels.	Slaves.	Vessels.	Slaves.
1837	193	84,700	29	7,237	13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1838	205	90,700	31	6,444	13	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1839	148	63,500	69	5,568	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1840	75	33,400	74	3,618	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	10
1841	55	28,060	72	5,966	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$
1842	40	15,200	55	3,950	58	20 $\frac{1}{2}$
1843	69	27,900	44	2,797	39	9
1844	99	40,200	48	4,677	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1845	89	23,300	88	3,519	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	13
1846	146	60,800	46	2,788	24	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1847	170	71,400	78	3,987	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

"It appears by the above table that during the years 1841-42 the squadron captured 57 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of all slave vessels fitted out, and 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of all slaves embarked. This success, I believe, was the cause of the slave-trade being brought to its lowest ebb in the year 1842. During the year 1846-47 the squadron captured only 27 per cent. of slave vessels, and only 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the slaves, the consequence of which was that the slave-trade had never been so brisk as during the year 1848. The former squadron, although of less than half the force of the present, not only captured a larger proportion, but absolutely a greater number, the numbers in the two former years being 127 vessels and 9,916 slaves; and in the two latter years 124 vessels and 6,755 slaves."

It is sufficient for our purpose to quote the reply of the *Times* to show that Captain Matson's reasoning is beside the mark:—

"With regard," says the editor, "to the calculations made by this officer respecting the effects of the blockade, we will only now remark, that even his own table shows no such success as would give any reasonable prospect of the final extinction of the trade. Assuming, for the moment, that his own views of its significance are correct, yet it will be seen that even in the celebrated years of 1841 and 1842 the captures only reached 20 per cent. on the number of slaves actually landed in Brazil and Cuba; and that, excluding from the calculation the fatal years of 1846 and 1847, and taking the nine years terminating with 1845, the average captures are only a little over 11 per cent. Yet, if there is one point in this discussion which, more than another, commands universal assent, it is that the slave-dealers could suffer a loss of 75 per cent. and still drive a remunerative trade. One voyage in six, Captain Denman said, would, if successful, insure them ample returns. We cannot, therefore, exactly comprehend the grounds on which Captain Matson concluded that, had the practice of the squadron continued as it was in 1842, the slave-trade must, in two years, have become virtually extinct, unless, indeed, he anticipated that the success of these operations would be uninterruptedly progressive."

The *Daily News*, in commenting upon the letter of Captain Matson, in reference to the price of sugar regulating the demand for slaves, has the following remarks:—

"Captain Matson asserts that it requires one to two years for the effects of higher prices for Brazilian or Cuba produce, acting through an increased price of slaves, and increased inducement to push the slave-trade, to augment the number of slavers afloat. Now, when it is considered that there is no peculiar machinery of any kind necessary for the trade, it is obvious, and facts confirm the opinion, that his assertion is incorrect. But how strange is it that he should not have applied this principle of deferred effect of a strong provoking cause to the table by which he seeks to support his view that the captures of the squadron rule the activity of the slave-trade. We give his table, adding to it a column showing the number of vessels fitted out for the slave-trade, computed by adding together those of arrivals and captures:—

A.D.	Number of arrivals in Brazil and Cuba.		Number captured and emancipated by British squadron.		Per centage captured by British squadron.		Slavers des- patched.
	Vessels.	Slaves.	Vessels.	Slaves.	Vessels.	Slaves.	
1837	192	84,700	20	7,237	13	74	221
1838	205	90,700	31	8,444	13	64	236
1839	148	65,500	60	5,556	31	74	217
1840	78	33,800	74	3,618	49	10	149
1841	55	23,000	72	5,968	56	20	127
1842	40	15,200	55	3,950	58	30	95
1843	69	27,000	44	2,797	39	9	113
1844	90	40,200	48	4,577	32	10	147
1845	59	25,300	88	3,510	50	13	147
1846	146	60,800	46	2,788	24	4	102
1847	170	71,400	78	3,937	31	5	248

"Now, we admit with Captain Matson, that *some* time would be necessary for the effect of the price of sugar to be felt, and some time for that of captures (a longer time, as the influencing cause occurs, in this case, farther from the place where the trade originates) in affecting the slave-trade. Well, his table shows that in the year following 1845, the year of most captures, when, according to it, 59½ per cent. (we like minute accuracy where it is so very attainable!) of the slavers fitted out were captured, the slavers increased from 147 to 192—or 30 per cent., and further greatly increased in the following year. And this while, in 1845, for the first time, the squadron could legally seize a Brazilian slaver, according to Captain Matson himself.

"Such a distinct indication of the inutility of the squadron and treaties is conclusive of the unsoundness of Captain Matson's views. But it is creditable to his industry and candour that his own compilation of facts furnishes us so readily with data for our conclusions.

"That the slave-trade is principally regulated by the price of sugar in Brazil and Cuba, admits of no reasonable doubt. For, horrible as the very thought is, in those countries slaves are the raw material of sugar; in proportion as the supply of sugar is less than the demand, its price, and the price of its raw material, rise; and it would be just as irrational to contend that an increased value of sugar did not lead in Brazil to extended cultivation, as to argue that the increased value of slaves there did not produce larger importations. Indeed, larger importations of slaves are indispensable to increased production of sugar; and when we see how largely Brazil is increasing her sugar exports, we can have no doubt that it is Africa and the slave which have furnished her with the means."

In these remarks we perfectly agree, and would simply add, that the real cause of the increase of the slave-trade in the years indicated by Captain Matson, was the want of a market for the produce raised by Brazil and Cuba, and the operation of local causes, which would account for the fluctuations of trade in any country. It is well known that, previously to the year 1846, the Brazilians and Cubans would have made any sacrifices to obtain an opening for the sale of their sugars in the British markets. They would then have accepted this great boon as a *quid pro quo* for the complete abolition of the slave-trade, and an early abolition of slavery itself. But no sooner did they ascertain that our markets would be thrown open to them, without conditions, than the slave-trade broke out with renewed violence, and continues up to this hour to baffle every effort to stifle it by force; and the British nation is presented to the eyes of the world as feeding and stimulating the traffic, by offering every possible inducement for its prosecution, at the very time it is spending from six hundred thousand to a million sterling *per annum* upon a fleet of cruisers to put it down. The absurdity of this course is not less apparent than its wickedness. Ever since the year 1817 we have been employed in negotiations and cruises for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the year 1849 finds us no nearer the attainment of our object. After so many years' experience, surely it is wise to adopt a more efficient mode of dealing with this gigantic evil. In uniting with others in the belief that the cruisers should be withdrawn, we distinctly disavow the objects and motives which appear to influence them. Many of them, we fear, care little whether the slave-trade flourish or decay; nay, some of them, we know, advocate the renewal of the slave-trade by this country, in order that their commercial schemes and agricultural speculations might be advantaged thereby. We regret that, by the force of circumstances, we should be found in such company, or appear to give the slightest countenance to their sordid and inhuman projects. We repudiate their doctrines and their practices *in toto*. They would withdraw the squadron, and find no substitute for it. We would withdraw it, and find an efficient one.

The second class, who cling to the continuance of the cruising squadron, as one among the means to be used for the suppression of the slave-trade, contains many devoted friends of the anti-slavery cause. We feel it requires all our firmness to withstand their appeals, on the ground that to withdraw the squadron would be to increase the miseries of Africa, and indefinitely to increase

the slave-trade. From any approach to such a catastrophe we confess we shudder. We do not think,—nay, on the contrary, we feel confident—that, if the plan suggested by the Anti-Slavery Committee were adopted as a substitute, and pressed home upon Brazil and Cuba, with the vigour and earnestness which its acknowledged importance demands, there would be an end of the slave-trade; and slavery itself, in Brazil and the Spanish colonies, would shortly disappear. The great bulk of the Africans held in these countries in slavery are so held contrary to law, and contrary to treaty. This is admitted. Then why should any parties shrink from making the demand formally and immediately for their freedom? Are the interests of commerce more sacred than the rights of humanity? Are Brazil and Spain to be permitted to trample under foot the most solemn treaties; to mock the British Government; and to treat with dishonour the people of this country? We do not ask, even to succour oppressed humanity, or to ensure the fulfilment of treaties, that the Government should send its armed vessels to Rio de Janeiro and Havana, and at the cannon's mouth demand the liberation of the slave, and reparation for the indignities inflicted on our country; but we do ask that, if the just rights of Great Britain are not conceded, and the African made free, that measures be taken to exclude the produce of those countries from the British markets, until such time as they consent to do justice, and honourably fulfil their engagements. Let our friends remember that the increased demand for slaves, occasioned by the Sugar Act of 1846, has been fully met by the slave-dealers, and that the importations into Brazil, during the last two years, have been so numerous as to lower their price considerably. Like every other article in demand, slaves are found, by one means and another, to supply the wants of those who require them. We hope, however, that united and vigorous efforts will be made by all the friends of Africa and the slave, to terminate the dreadful state of things which now exists. To those who have so long laboured in the cause of abolition, it is a painful circumstance to find themselves placed in such difficulties; but let them remember that they are not insurmountable, and that they may hope for the divine blessing to crown their labours with ultimate and complete success.

Those who believe the employment of a marine force for the suppression of the slave-trade has not only proved inefficient but injurious, have facts on their side. The increase in the slave-trade, both in extent and horrors, during the last two years, is a proof of that. The attempt made to deny that the horrors of the contraband slave-trade are not greater than when it was a legal traffic, is contrary to evidence and the nature of the case. We entirely concur in the statements of the late Mr. Bandinel, who, for a period of thirty years, was in the Foreign Office, and watched the various phases of the traffic with more than ordinary care, and who, as the result of his observations, hesitated not to declare that the cruising system had signally failed, and that the horrors of the traffic had enormously increased by the very means which had been used for its suppression.

We are aware that attempts are made, not very fairly, to class us with all the opponents of the cruising system, and thereby to bring us into disrepute. We ask our friends to discriminate; to look at the subject in the light of facts; and not to condemn us because men of questionable character choose to place themselves in our company. There are some who call themselves free-traders that advocate the withdrawal of the squadron, because it interferes, say they, with liberty of commerce. They overlook the moralities of the question, but we are not of that class. There are merchants and manufacturers who demand the suppression of the squadron, because it interferes with their commercial operations in Rio and Havana, but we are not of that class. There are West Indians who ask for the withdrawal of the squadron, in order that the money saved thereby may be devoted to African emigration, but we are not of that class. Neither are we of the parties represented by the *Times* and the *Daily News*. But we are of that party who are unwilling to prolong a useless contest,—a contest which not only involves an enormous annual outlay of British treasure, but which aggravates, without sensibly diminishing, the slave-trade. We again return to our position, that our Government possesses the means of overthrowing the evil, if it have the will. Let them demand the liberation of all Africans illicitly introduced into the Spanish colonies and Brazil, and it will be done. Happy are we to see that Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Antigua, British Guiana, and other colonies, are taking this ground. Let them persevere, and we shall not despair of their ability to enter hereafter into fair and honourable competition with all the world.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE. — PUBLIC MEETINGS IN THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.

Since our last we have received reports of several meetings which have been held in Jamaica, for the purpose of memorialising the Queen and both Houses of Parliament on the subject of the enforcement of our treaties with Spain and Brazil for the suppression of the slave-trade. We regret we cannot find room even for a condensed report of these meetings. We can, therefore, only remark that they were well attended, and the resolutions cordially responded to. The resolutions were of the same character as those already given in our last number.

A meeting of a similar character was held in ANTIGUA on the 17th of July last, and as we have not yet noticed any meeting in that colony we subjoin a condensed account.

The Chair was taken by the Bishop.

Or rising, he said:—The object of this meeting, both from the public notice which has appeared in the island newspapers, and from the accounts which have reached us of similar meetings in other colonies, is so well known that, as chairman, I need say little as introductory to the business of the day; I may, however, just briefly state that the object of the meeting is *to take into consideration the propriety of presenting an humble memorial to her most gracious Majesty, our beloved Queen, and petitions to the two Houses of Parliament, praying that such measures may be taken as shall effectually carry out, even to the letter and spirit, the solemn treaties which have been entered into between the British Government and certain foreign States.* I have been requested to take the chair on the occasion, and, under all the circumstances, I have cheerfully consented to do so; for I must candidly acknowledge that I feel highly gratified in occupying my present position. I have long felt that the slave-trade is the fruitful source of countless moral evils to the land that supplies its hapless victims; that in its furtherance it generates wars among the various, yet uncivilised, tribes of Africa; that it rends asunder the dearest natural and social ties; that it raises an effectual barrier against the progress of every effort towards civilisation; that it effectually shuts the door against the entrance of our blessed Christianity; that it gives rise to countless barbarities, and especially in the conveyance of its unhappy victims to their destined and cruel house of bondage. It is on the grounds of humanity, of morality, of religion, that I would chiefly advocate the measure under consideration. I have, indeed, ladies and gentlemen, a conviction that if the several treaties entered into by Great Britain with foreign powers were carried out to the full, in the letter and in the spirit, the slave-trade would at once receive its death-blow, and slavery would soon experience the like fate. I would not concede that the competition between free and slave labour has failed; this competition has been an unfair one; it has not been, in truth, a competition between free and slave labour, but it has been indeed an unfair competition between free labour, dealt with on the principles of humanity, and justice, and religion, and slave labour managed in defiance of every maxim of humanity, and justice, and religion.

The first resolution was then moved by the Hon. H. M. Daniell; seconded by Francis B. Ottley, Esq.:

"That while the planters of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, are permitted, in violation of the existing treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, to draw continuous supplies of slave labour from Africa, and by that means to cultivate their staple at a cost almost nominal, it is impossible for the inhabitants of the British West Indian Colonies, in which slavery has happily been abolished, to compete with them in the British market."

The Rev. James Cox, Wesleyan Missionary, then proposed the second resolution. He said—I rise to move,

"That it is the duty of the British Government, in redemption of the solemn pledges made to the West India proprietors at the period of emancipation, and in furtherance of the interests of the emancipated labourers in the British colonies, to exhaust every effort for the extinction of the nefarious traffic in slaves still carried on by the planters of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, in contravention of the treaties by which their respective Governments stand bound to her Britannic Majesty."

I esteem it an honour to be permitted to take part in the proceedings of this assembly. The cause we are assembled to promote is that of our common humanity; and if an ancient heathen poet could say—"I am a man, and whatsoever affects humanity is interesting to me"—how much more deeply ought they to be imbued with this sentiment, who are professedly governed by the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The magnitude of the object at which we aim is another consideration. It concerns the well-being of 7,000,000 of our fellow-creatures; for that is the number doomed to bondage, if we include the 3,500,000 in the United States of America. We have to combat an evil which is removing not 10,000 only, but from 80 to 100,000 of our fellow-men, every year, from their peaceful homes in Africa, and dooming them to bondage, sickness, agony, and death! Are not facts like these sufficient to awaken compassion in bosoms not impenetrably steeled to the claims of mercy? Now, in consequence of the measures adopted many years ago by Great Britain in negotiations, and remonstrances, and

treaties, with the nations engaged in this accursed traffic, the number was reduced from 100,000 annually to 14,000, and hopes began to be entertained of its utter extinction, when untoward circumstances arose which gave unwonted energy to the horrible traffic in flesh and blood, and now we behold it existing in all its original vigour and enormity! In an evil hour, in succumbing to the popular cry for *cheap sugar*, did the legislators of Great Britain consent to admit the produce of slave labour. That is a deep blot upon our national escutcheon—a dark page in England's history—a fearful disgrace to British legislation! I am not here to impugn the principles of free-trade; they may be generally just and right—I incline to think they are. However, as a minister of Christ, and in this place, I wish not to obtrude my political views on this assembly. But though men may differ on this question generally, it is admitted by some of the most distinguished advocates of such views, that slavery and the traffic in slaves must be totally excluded from the category of free trade. What, my lord! A free trade in the bodies and souls, and blood and bones, and groans and sighs, and scalding tears, of those who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh—born of the same common Father—redeemed by the same precious blood, and travelling to the same eternity! Monstrous and revolting absurdity and wickedness! Such an impetus did this cruel legislation give to the traffic in human beings that, in both countries, new estates were brought under cultivation—fresh ships were fitted out for the African coast—abundant rejoicings were excited—while Africa's woes were immeasurably augmented! Nor will you wonder at this increase in the horrible business (notwithstanding the strong naval force employed to prevent it), when I apprise you that a slave costs on the shores of Africa only £3 8s., and when landed in these slaveholding colonies will sell for from £50 to £70 sterling! If one vessel out of four escapes the vigilance of the cruisers the trade is abundantly remunerative; and so little risk do they run, that in 1846 only 7,000 were captured, while 70,000 were landed in the dark dominions of slavery! But my resolution speaks of treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, made between Great Britain and the Governments of Spain and Brazil. In a number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* I find a valuable epitome of the negotiations and correspondence on this subject. Into the details I need not enter. Now, who could suppose that all these solemn treaties should be regarded as so much waste paper? But so it is. These unjust and perfidious Governments have openly encouraged, or secretly connived at, this "nefarious traffic." Their subjects desire it, and the system of bribery has been practised with unblushing effrontery; and the slaves entitled to their freedom are still held in bondage, in defiance of law and justice. Now my resolution states that it is the duty of the British Government "to exhaust every effort" to secure the fulfilment of these treaties. Every *legitimate* effort. But not by having recourse to war. That we repudiate. War is a complication of such horrible evils that we cannot believe a God of peace and love ever designed that his rational creatures should engage in it.

What, then, are the efforts which ought to be adopted? Why, we must deal with these nations, as with individuals whose dishonesty and falsehood are notorious. With as much politeness and civility as you can command, you must adopt the principle of NON-INTERCOURSE with such light-fingered gentry. And so with Brazil and Spain. Let Great Britain refuse to admit their produce on any terms until their engagements have been performed. An indignant public must be brought to bear upon these grossly unfaithful nations, until they are, if possible, shamed out of their iniquities and cruelties! And one design of our meeting to-day is to secure a petition to this effect to the three branches of the British Legislature. Let not the female portion of the community think that they are excluded from this good work. A memorial on this subject is to be presented to our gracious Queen by the women of England.

The third resolution (which was moved by the Hon. William Byam, and seconded by the Rev. H. N. G. Hall, of the Established Church) was as follows:—

"That this meeting is of opinion that further negotiation with the Governments which have connived at the violation by their subjects of laws passed in pursuance of their solemn engagements with Great Britain, would be futile, and beneath the dignity of a great nation; and that the only effectual method of compelling the planters of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil to relinquish the slave-trade, would be the adoption of such an alteration of the commercial policy of Great Britain as would exclude from the British market the produce of those places, as long as the slave-trade continues to be carried on within their limits."

Robert M. Isaacs, Esq., moved the fourth resolution:—

"That the natives of Africa imported into Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, since the date of the operation of the treaties between Great Britain, Spain, and Brazil for the suppression of the slave-trade, are entitled to their freedom unconditionally, and that it is incumbent upon the British Government to insist on their immediate emancipation."

Mr. J. F. Smith, a coloured gentleman from Cuba, seconding this resolution, said:—The resolution, which I have the honour to second, tells us that there are natives of Africa in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, who are

unjustly held in bondage, and that they are entitled to their freedom unconditionally, and it further tells us that it is incumbent on the British Government to insist on their immediate emancipation. It is a glorious thing, my lord, to behold an assemblage like the present, consisting of individuals of the first rank and influence in the land, convened for the purpose of asserting the right of the negro to freedom. It is most gratifying to me to hear those open avowals emanating from your lordship and other gentlemen by whom I am surrounded, replete with liberality of sentiment and undisguised hostility to slavery. It will be my pleasure, should an opportunity be afforded me, to speak of this day's proceedings in England. With regard to the means which might be adopted by the British Government for the purpose of enforcing the treaties entered into with Spain and Brazil for the suppression of the slave-trade, my views are in entire accordance with those of my friend, the Rev. Mr. Cox. I see no necessity for any belligerent display; but I think that by a legitimate commercial interdict arising out of the circumstances of the case the object might be attained, and the thing that it appears to me necessary to be aroused in the British nation is the same spirit that broke the fetters of the slave in our West India colonies. I cannot agree with the free-traders. The *summum bonum* of their creed appears to be this. Buy in the *cheapest* and sell in the *dearest* market. Now, my lord, I think that there will be no difficulty in showing that to carry out this theory of buying in the cheapest market to its full extent is to violate some of the highest principles of Christian morality. It does not signify how an article is come by, it is your duty to supply yourself with it at the cheapest rate. What would be thought of the man who should say to the housekeepers of this city—buy stolen sugar, if it be cheap? To the mechanics and others—procure the articles which you require at the cheapest rate, although you know them to be stolen? And what are the British people doing with regard to the Brazilian sugar? Are they not buying it with the full knowledge that it is dishonestly come by—that it is the produce of the man-thief, that it is extracted from the blood and sinews of the poor, degraded, enslaved African? And are all these considerations to give way to the one that cupidity would urge—namely, that it is cheap? Does not every hogshead of slave-grown sugar which is imported into England tighten the cord which binds the unfortunate slave to his merciless task-master, and can the British people while they act in this way expect a blessing upon their nation? The late Daniel O'Connell, whose memory, whatever may have been his faults in other respects, I cannot help honouring on account of his strong anti-slavery principles, said, at an early stage of the discussions on this subject in the House of Commons, that "it was better to have half a loaf with a father's blessing, than a whole loaf with a father's curse." I honour that sentiment, and although sugar should be obtained by Britons at a penny a pound cheaper, yet if it be at the price of blood, they should dash it from their lips. In this struggle, my lord, we have avarice in antagonism with humanity. It is useless to address arguments to those who can only look at the subject in the light of self-interest. The Brazilians, and those who get their gain by this trade, will decry proceedings like the present. Like Demetrius and others, who got their gains by making shrines for the temple of the great goddess Diana, they will cry out, "our craft is in danger;" but, as the Apostle Paul did not cease to denounce them as idolaters, so we must not cease to denounce the trade, with all those who are engaged in it or promote it, as *unrighteous*. Slavery drags other curses in its train, and among them the curse of complexional distinction. Why is it, my lord, that I and the like of me cannot with comfort visit the United States of America? It is because of their strong prejudice against caste, fostered and promoted by the existence of slavery. I do believe, my lord, that there is yet enough of Christian people in England who, when properly appealed to, will produce a reaction on this subject; therefore, let us not despair; and as this is a struggle of justice against injustice, of truth against error, let us hope that, by persevering efforts, the foul blot of slavery will be removed from the face of the earth, for "truth is mighty and will prevail."

The next resolution was moved by the Rev. J. B. Grant, and seconded by the Rev. G. W. Westerby:—

"That the memorial to her Majesty and the petitions to the two Houses of Parliament, now read, be adopted; and that the chairman be requested to sign the memorial on behalf of this meeting; and that copies of the petitions be distributed throughout the island for signature."

The following resolution was proposed by the Hon. L. L. Hodge, and seconded by T. B. Nibbs, Esq.:—

"That the chairman be requested on behalf of this meeting to communicate with Sir Robert Inglis and Lord Denman, requesting them to take charge of the petitions to the House of Lords and House of Commons respectively."

The Rev. Thomas James moved, and W. L. Nibbs, Esq., seconded the next resolution:—

"That the friends of humanity in England and America be hereby invited to co-operate with this meeting in striving to accomplish its humane and holy object."

After thanks to the chairman the meeting separated.

BRITISH GUIANA.—TREATMENT OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.

We have had reason to conclude, from information we have received, that a system of coercion is not unfrequently adopted toward the immigrants generally, who are placed at the mercy of unprincipled and unfeeling planters. Our belief has been strengthened by the exposure of a case of cruel treatment, which we had occasion to bring before our readers a few months ago, which ended in the imposition of a fine upon the transgressor.

Our attention has been specially called, by a gentleman residing in the colony, to a case communicated by a correspondent of the *Colonist*, a paper published in George Town, Demerara. In the number of which, for July 11th, under the caption of "the battle of Zorg," the following details occur.

After stating that an appalling account of the insurrection had appeared in the public press, he goes on to say, that he had used every endeavour to obtain a correct statement of the facts, the result of which is as follows:—

On Monday, the 16th April, some African immigrants on plantation *Zorg* refused to go to work, stating that the "task" was too much. Mr. Sutherland, the manager, threatened to call in the police, if they did not go to work; the Africans however, instead of going to work, quietly took possession of their houses. Mr. Bishop, the proprietor, thereupon sent a complaint to Mr. Fraser, the stipendiary magistrate, stating that the people were riotous. Mr. Fraser, having first sent for the police, proceeded to Zorg, where he remained three hours; he found the people perfectly quiet,—left them perfectly quiet; and finding no occasion for his interference, forthwith left Zorg, and proceeded to town. After Mr. Fraser had left the coast, two policemen, however, for whom he had at first sent, arrived at Zorg, and acting under orders from Mr. Bishop,—who is not now a magistrate,—and without any warrant, proceeded to arrest three of the Africans, who were sitting peaceably at their houses. The Africans naturally showed some resistance, and the policemen fled. Mr. Bishop thereupon drove with indecent haste to Mr. Van Aanzorg, J. P., and conjured up a horrid case against the unoffending people. His dismal account of resistance to the police, riot, rout, and rebellion, must have struck dismay into the heart of the justice, for he repaired to the scene of action with Mr. Bishop, followed by eight police constables, twenty-two rural constables, and five special constables—in all, a force of thirty-five men.

During the muster of the rural constables, Mr. Van Aanzorg visited the Africans, and finding that they were quiet and peaceable, he desired (through an interpreter) the three men who, according to Mr. Bishop's account, were the ringleaders, to come into Mr. Bishop's house and surrender themselves; this they refused to do, but said they would hear what he had to say to them out of doors. When Mr. Van Aanzorg had his force collected, he ordered the men to be arrested; then followed a scene which it would be painful to describe. The poor ignorant, unoffending, thirteen Africans, unable to speak or understand a word of the language in which they were addressed, were attacked and brutally beaten by the constables, (I may state that neither Mr. Tilbury nor Mr. Fowler took any part in this outrage), of the thirteen Africans ten were admitted to bail, and three detained in prison till the day of trial.

On the 3rd of May they were tried for a riot and assault, but were acquitted; the votes of the Justices being five to one in favour of the accused. They were then tried simply for an assault, and were again acquitted.

The minutes were subsequently sent to Mr. Governor Barkly, who obtained the opinion of the acting attorney-general, who decided that the court trying the prisoners had no jurisdiction.

His Excellency, armed with this opinion, determined not to allow the Africans to escape so easily, and directs the acting sheriff "to take steps for sending them to Georgetown Gaol, that they may be tried before the Supreme Criminal Court," unless—oh! fair and favoured word of my worthy friend Mr. Stuart, "*unless*" thou wast never conjoined to so despicable an alternative! Unless what? Why, sir—"unless they obtain the pardon of those prosecutors:" to wit,—Mr. Bishop and Dr. Van Aanzorg. Here is a copy of the Governor's despatch, let it speak for itself:—

"British Guiana.

"Government Secretary's Office, Demerara,
"17th May, 1849.

"Sir,—By command of the Governor, I have the honour to enclose, for your information, and that of the Justices who were present, copy of the opinion furnished by the Hon. Acting Attorney-General, upon the proceedings before the Inferior Criminal Court held at Capoey for the trial of the African labourers charged with riot and assault at plantation *Zorg*, and which resulted in their acquittal. His Excellency considers that if Mr. Bishop or Doctor Van Aanzorg wish to re-open the proceedings by preferring a fresh charge, it must be entertained; and that probably, under all circumstances, these gentlemen would be satisfied by your summoning the Africans in question before you, and explaining to them, that unless they obtain the pardon of those prosecutors, you are

directed by the Governor to take steps for sending them to Georgetown Gaol, that they may be tried before the Supreme Criminal Court. I return the minute of the proceedings on the trial.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your humble and obedient Servant,

"WILLIAM WALKER,
"Governor's Secretary."

A communication was made to the magistrates, informing them of their non-jurisdiction, to which one of them made the following reply:—

"As one of the justices forming the court in question, I took pains to satisfy myself of the competence of the tribunal, and after consulting authorities, came to the conclusion that the court was competent. Messrs. Carbery, Sandiford, and Perry, J. P., certainly thought so; and I believe the opinion of the court was unanimous in the affirmative. I have again studied my ordinances and books, aided by the light of the Attorney-General's *dictum ex cathedra*, but my opinion is unchanged. Fault is found with the court that it did not examine some witnesses said to be material. If the court was invalid, wherefore this supererogatory objection? However, a Court of Justice must surely be held to know best what evidence is required for the elucidation of a cause tried before it.

"In the instance before us, the patient justices heard interminable evidence, all clearly establishing the quiescence of the negroes, until needlessly assailed. I observe the Accupapas are to be threatened with trial in the city, unless they make an apology to Mr. Bishop, and Dr. Aanzorg, and that the duty of proposing this astounding alternative is imposed on the officer who, as their judge, solemnly pronounced their acquittal."

After having received this reply, the Government secretary still maintains a point, but what that point is, it is difficult to determine, for instead of addressing himself to the charge, he puts a purely hypothetical case. "If armed resistance to a police force is permitted to go unpunished, because in the opinion of the tribunal engaged in the investigation the original steps taken for the suppression of the affray were injudicious, it would tend to the subversion of all legal authority, and might be productive of most dangerous consequences to the public service." But, hypothetical though it be, Mr. Walker states the case unfairly. It was not from the "original steps" injudiciously taken, that the people were acquitted, but it was on the bare merits of the question that the Africans had caused no "affray." And it certainly does appear somewhat extraordinary, and rather *Irish*, to say that because parties were *legally acquitted*, "it would tend to the subversion of all legal authority" if such were allowed.

It is not necessary to make any further observations on this affair at present, but should there be any one hardy enough to attempt a justificatory illustration, there is sufficient in the possession of the writer to furnish another letter.

[To say the least, this case seems to have been treated in a very un-English kind of way. One would have supposed that the almost unanimous opinion of the Justices, of the innocence of these poor Africans, would have been sufficient, had not the strictest forms of law been complied with. But no! in the face of this decision, they must be committed to prison, unless they can obtain the pardon of their prosecutors. But for what? Simply that, which five Justices of the Peace ruled was excusable, defending themselves from an unwarrantable assault made upon their liberty. If such intolerance as this is to be allowed, there is an end to all justice. It is quite evident that these poor ignorant Africans, who have not yet learned to lisp the English tongue, are left entirely at the mercy of their employers. Without any rule as to their quota of work, they are to be coerced to the performance of whatever caprice or tyranny may suggest, and in the event of passive resistance, the policeman steps in, and by dint of threats and blows, either compels submission or provokes assault. Then follows a trial, which if successful, so far satisfactory, but if unproductive of the desired result, then appeal, or something else.

We sincerely trust that a searching inquiry will speedily be made into the circumstances and condition of these immigrants, which will, if we are properly informed, reveal hardships and cruelties which are little dreamt of. In the meantime, we shall carefully watch any further proceedings that may be taken in this case.]

DAHOMY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the last number of the *Reporter* we gave the result of Mr. Cruickshank's visit to the king of Dahomey. Notwithstanding the pretences of the king and those who surrounded him, as to the cessation of those cruelties which are wont to accompany the capture of slaves, and his desire to see the slave-trade abolished, we have abundant evidence to show that he is as cruel and merciless as ever. The *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, for August last, contains a letter from a missionary at Badagry, the Rev. J. Smith, dated March 20, 1849, but a few months after Mr. Cruickshank's visit, in which he refers to the utter destruction of a large town, called Okeodan, lying between Badagry and Abbeokuta!—

Mr. Smith says:—

"The Dahomians came upon the inhabitants as it were by stealth, surrounded the town, captured the people, and reduced the place to ashes in a short time. I have obtained information from various individuals respecting that mournful event, and all agree in narrating the main facts of the case; but the most minute account is that of the headman of the late chief of that place: he is the man who led Mr. Gollmer's horse into Okeodan, and helped Mr. Gollmer through his troubles when there. He states that Okeodan paid an annual tribute to the king of Dahomey, and that at the time the Dahomians were marching against them, a messenger of the king was at Okeodan with the chief; so that, for aught they knew, the king was on strict terms of peace with them. Hence, when it was reported that the Dahomians were approaching the town, no one appeared to believe it; but being re-assured of the fact, a few persons went without the gate to see if it were really so. My informant told me he was one of eight that did so, and came in full front of the enemy, when they escaped, to save their lives, into the bush. He added, that the chief had been put to death, and a vast multitude of the people, their bodies burned without the wall in large heaps, and their heads carried home by the king, together with 20,000 captives; many of whom will, according to his annual custom, be sacrificed in the capital on his birth-day, in honour of his father, and many more in honour of his mother; some say 200 for the one, and 250 for the other. The report of the number of captives is the statement of a Dahomian woman from the capital. She stated that 'the king numbered the people on his return, and found them to be 20,000, less 400.' The above-mentioned man came here to seek his wife, who had been carried away captive, as he had heard she was on the beach to be shipped, but he could not find her; he told me, however, that the king of Dahomey had sent 800 slaves to Domingo (a notorious slave-dealer on the coast) since the war, to pay off a debt which was owing him. The same man says that the king came in person to Okeodan, and that he has erected a bamboo fence completely around the town, so that no person dares inhabit that spot again. Hence that large place is swept away from the face of the earth. The remnant that escaped are now collecting together near the place, and there is no doubt the above-mentioned man will be their chief."

BADAGRY.

The same publication contains an interesting description of Badagry, from the pen of a missionary lately engaged at that place. As it contains some facts of interest, we subjoin them.

"The present town, a small part of the eastern extremity of which is seen in the sketch, lies in 6° 24' N. lat. and 2° 53' E. long. Its situation is more secure than the old town, not being so open and exposed to sudden nightly attacks from enemies; the river Ossa protects the south, a branch of that river protects the west, and morasses the north and part of the east; so that, from its peculiarity of situation, it is rendered almost a natural fortification. Many enemies have been beaten off from this place, who, had the position of its inhabitants been less favourable for defence, would have proved too powerful for them.

"The houses of Badagry are, with a few exceptions, built of the same materials as our native dwellings, viz., of sticks, the bamboo cane, and palm leaf; for clay or mud, of which towns in the interior are generally built, is very scarce, the soil consisting for the most part of sand, a circumstance most unfavourable to cultivation, and which gives the agriculturist a great deal of labour to make up, in some small degree, for the barrenness of the land. On this account the necessities of life—as Indian corn, yams, beans, and other vegetables—which are cultivated at Badagry, are of insufficient quantity, and many of the people find it necessary to engage in trade—slave-trade and lawful trade.

"The horrible trade in human flesh has been greatly checked by those measures which the British Government have, with such justice, employed; but its recovering again and again, notwithstanding the heavy blows which it has sustained, proves the necessity of perseverance in the use of the most decided and effective efforts, until, by the blessing of God, Africa is permitted to rejoice in the utter abolition of this monstrous traffic, which has inflicted upon her so many and such prolonged calamities.

"But, as it is, there is still, I am sorry to say, the opportunity of prosecuting it on a larger scale than an observing eye, in the first instance, would be disposed to infer. It is true we have no more public slave marts, neither do we witness much of the cruelty and horrors connected with it; but this does not so much prove the non-existence of the trade as that the transactions are carried on in secret, and principally by night, and that the natives study to keep us ignorant of what is going on. But, alas! we see, hear, and know too much to be deceived. O, what a history of cruelties will come to light on that day when the great book containing the deeds of men will be opened!

"It is, however, a fact which deserves to be recorded, that at Badagry, hundreds of persons who, in former days, have had more or less to do with the slave-trade, are now wholly employed in lawful traffic, and especially in the palm-oil trade. And I feel no hesitation in saying, that

many of the people would gladly exchange slave-trade for lawful traffic; but as it is too much to expect a hungry man will cast away the loaf in his hand without having a larger, or, at least, as large a one secured to him in return, so it is too much to expect that the Africans, depending and subsisting on the slave-trade, should give it up, without having other means provided for them.

"Badagry being, in the fullest sense of the word, a 'city of refuge,' contains a mixed population of about 8,000 souls. We have people living here from the Haussa, Nuhi, Bornu, and other countries in the interior, as well as from the various tribes of the Yoruba kingdom, amidst the original inhabitants, the Popos, who are the most numerous and powerful in the place.

"By far the greater number of strangers from the interior are followers of Mahomed, and differ from their brethren in other countries in nothing but ignorance. The greater part of the Yorubas, as well as all the Popos, are pagans. The former are less superstitious, and more susceptible of improvement, than the latter, who are very much degraded by the slave-trade, and very averse to reformation, from the tenacity with which they hold fast the traditions of their fathers."

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA.—A friend in Grayson county, Western Va., has written us a long account of the primary examination of Rev. James C. Bacon, a preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church, under a presentment by the grand jury, for having feloniously circulated abolition documents, calculated to excite the slaves to rebellion, and against the law "in such case made and provided." It appears that in Virginia the grand jury presentments for felony do not pass directly to the trial court, but go before the county court, a bench consisting of three or five magistrates and justices of the peace, who merely *examine* the case, and decide whether persons indicted by the grand jury shall be held for trial before the supreme court. The examination of Mr. Bacon excited a deep interest, not merely on account of the strong prejudices existing in Virginia against the abolitionists, but from the fact that some of the ablest counsel in the State were employed on the case. An attempt was made to browbeat the counsel for the prisoner, and to frighten them with the idea that it was not safe for them personally to appear in defence of persons charged with that most horrible of all crimes—abolitionism! A thing taught, it is true, by the great "expounder of Virginia politics," Jefferson; but with singular consistency denied by those who profess to follow his political teachings. But Hon. Mr. Fulton, late a whig member of Congress, and another distinguished lawyer, promptly braved the obloquy of defending a man charged with a very unpopular crime, and they performed their work, it would seem, with much more ability than success. Mr. Bacon was charged with circulating an abolition address delivered at Cincinnati, and also the Life of Frederick Douglass; but all the evidence elicited only proved that he merely loaned the books to two persons at their request; and one of them to a young lady, whose brother clandestinely conveyed it to the enemies of the accused. The counsel for the Government appealed very strongly to the prejudices of the court (four of the five magistrates being members of the Methodist Church, and slaveholders), entered into an elaborate argument to show the enormity of the crime charged, and that the Bible not only justified, but commanded slavery! The counsel for the defence did not undertake to make scriptural argument, but showed very clearly that the prisoner was not guilty under the laws of Virginia, by which laws they insisted, and certainly with some show of reason, he ought to be tried. They proved very plainly that the books, though they may have been of the class intended by the laws to be proscribed for the coloured people, were not circulated among them, or with any criminal intent to excite them to insurrection. The criminal act being unsubstantiated, they held that Mr. Bacon must be discharged. But the magistrates do not appear to have entertained this reasonable view of the matter, and they held the prisoner to bail in the sum of one thousand dollars, to take his trial before the superior court. Should the judges and jurors comprising the court be equally discriminating, no doubt the prisoner will be severely punished. But it seems to us that such specimens as this of the power of slavery to misdirect the course of justice, will prove in the end a millstone about its neck, to hold it down in that "lower deep" to which its own desperate acts, not less than the enlightenment of public opinion, are evidently hastening it.—*Boston Mail*, August, 1849.

MAINE.—The Message of Governor Dana was rather roughly handled in the Legislature of Maine by his political friends, so far as his non-committal policy upon the question of slavery in the territories was concerned. In the Senate, on Friday, Mr. Hobbs, of Oxford, from a committee to which the Message had been referred, reported the following resolves in relation to the introduction and extension of slavery in newly-acquired territories:—

Resolved,—That we hereby declare for ourselves, and in behalf of the people of this State, our uncompromising opposition to the extension of slavery into any territory of the United States which is now free.

Resolved,—That in organising governments for Mexico and California, the introduction and existence of slavery in those territories should be positively prohibited by act of Congress.

Resolved,—That our senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our representatives requested to vote against any acts establishing governments for said territories, that do not contain an express prohibition of slavery.

Resolved,—That the Governor be requested to forward copies of the foregoing resolutions to each of our senators and representatives in Congress, and to each of the Governors of the several States of the Union.

FREE SYNOD OF CINCINNATI.—This new Synod, composed of those who withdrew from the two Synods of Cincinnati on account of their action respectively on the subject of slavery, has lately held its annual meeting at Ripley, Ohio. Rev. John Rankin was chosen Moderator, and the Synodical sermon was preached by Rev. Thomas Merrill. The Synod continued in session five days, and adjourned to meet at New Athens. A series of resolutions relating to the civil duties of Christians were passed, which affirmed that no candidate for civil office should receive the suffrages of Christian voters, who is guilty of the crime of slaveholding, duelling, or other scandalous offences against God, and enjoined the church sessions to confer with and admonish any church members who might be guilty of so voting. The action of this Synod on slavery was taken at the outset. *It refuses all Christian fellowship with those who hold slaves.*

THE STRUGGLE IN CALIFORNIA.—The spectacle of a slaveholding President—a slaveholding Cabinet, and a slaveholding Governor, in California, have emboldened the South to assume even a more aggressive tone and demeanour. The South Carolina "chivalry" grow each day more violent in language, and threaten with unmistakable distinctness the forcible establishment of slavery on the Pacific shores. A new phase of the slave-trade has already commenced; and the gold mines of the Western world, just unfolded to us, are likely to renew, in the privations of a forced emigration beyond the Rocky Mountains, the horrors of the middle passage, and the terrible sufferings of which the gold of Cuba and the Atlantic shores of America were the original moving cause.

The pretension that California is unfit for slave labour—an invention got up by the Northern allies of slavery propagandism—is scouted at by the Southern dealers in human chattels. They know that American slavery was breathed into life by the demon of the mines, and they believe it can renew its existence at the same source. We quote (says the *Albany Atlas*) from one of the influential papers of the South, (the *Georgia Constitutionalist*), an assertion of the fitness of the new territories for slavery, and an avowal of a purport to colonise therein with slaves, at all hazards:—

"The Northern prints begin to indicate serious apprehensions that after all the assertions to the contrary, slavery can and will exist in California. We have long believed, and contended, that slave labour will be very profitable in that country—particularly so, since the discovery of the gold mines. No labour can be so well adapted for mining purposes as slave labour. When the people of California ascertain this fact to a demonstration, they will insist on the introduction of slaves into that country. For Congress to interfere with that right to introduce them, would be not only unconstitutional, but grossly oppressive and unjust. In defiance of all the sinister predictions, North and South, that slavery never can exist in California, we confidently expect to see the Southern people yet enjoying their full share of that valuable territory for which her sons have so bravely fought,—and, in due time, slaveholding States on the Pacific, represented in Congress by slaveholding citizens, whose voices will be raised in trumpet tones, in defence of the institutions of their forefathers."—*Hartford Republican*.

THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA.—The following extraordinary statement respecting the slave-trade still carried on between the island of Cuba and Africa, we find in the last number of *La Verdad*, a Spanish paper, published in New York. We beg all who have been imposed upon by the professions of hostility recently made by the Cuban authorities, and circulated in part, no doubt, by designing persons in the northern States, to give this a careful perusal.

"The negro question in the island of Cuba:—The speeches pronounced in the Spanish Cortes, in the discussion of the penal law, about the clandestine trade of African negroes, are still resounding in our ears; the ink with which they are printed is still fresh; some voices are still heard affirming that the slave-trade is at an end; when we see all the promises of the Government belied, and walking in the streets of Havana the clumsy negroes just imported by the Negro Company residing at Madrid, presided over by Donna Maria Christina of Bourbon, and represented here by Don Antonio Parete, Don Manuel Pastor, and others concerned in the continuation of that abominable trade in human flesh, against which civilised nations have protested.

"During these four months, 2,400 negroes have been introduced, and the other shipments belonging to the Company are expected, who have purchased on the coast of Africa 10,000 negroes, at 8.50 dollars each, and the sale of whom all over the island is to produce to the Company a

great profit; if the price of 350 dollars is considered, which is the price fixed for each negro, the lot being ten and upwards. So lucrative is the business, that Mr. Pastor, as actual syndic of the Committee of Encouragement (Junta de Fomento), the most part of which consist of men of these very same ideas, invited the corporation to manifest to its President the imperious necessity of introducing negro slaves from Brazil, contemporaneously decreeing, that it was indispensable to adopt severe measures, whereby the Asiatic and Yucatan colonist should be compelled to work.

"The Count of Alcoy, who cannot look with indifference either at the interest of his patroness, Donna Maria Christina, or at his own, wishing to give vigour to the proceeding by asking a consultation of the pretorial audience, required the latter to inform him, whether or not it would be a violation of the treaties made in 1817 and 1835, and of the last penal law, to admit into the island negro slaves imported from Brazil; to which they answered, as it was to be expected, in conformity with the opinion of their attorney, Olaneta, that it was no violation of the treaties; this being consistent with the other information which was asked of them by the Count of Lucena (O'Donnell), when he intended to introduce 40,000 from Africa, whose vast project could not be realised on account of his being relieved; which circumstance deprived him of 120,000 Spanish gold doubloons, at the rate of three doubloons per head, which was the sum which he had fixed upon as immutable.

"Those previous facts show clearly that the Government has regarded as an indispensable necessity the introduction of negro slaves in the island, and by introducing them as imported from Brazil, it does not infringe on the treaties with England, to which at all events an answer will be made containing the same data and observation collected in that celebrated record which must already be in the hands of the Duchess of Rianzares."

SUGAR ESTATES IN HAVANA.—Great fears are entertained respecting the present crop of sugar, and estimates of the deficiency vary from 30 up to even 50 per cent.; but from what I have myself been able to judge in my tour in the island, I rather incline to the former figure, as the drought has not been general, and several new estates commence grinding this year. Among the estates which are in process of formation, and which I had the pleasure of seeing, were two which called particularly my attention, from their magnificence, the different machineries to be employed, and their enormous cost. One of them belongs to the agent, here, of her Majesty Queen Christina, and the other, called the Aguica, belongs to the rich Habanero, H. E. Count Ferdinandina. This last estate will be the largest in the island, will have upwards of 600 negroes, and there will be five or six of the most improved machines, managed by American, French, and English engineers. From a conversation which I had with the Count's major domo, it appears that the probable produce of the estate, when in full operation, will exceed 14,000 boxes. Another estate which I visited was the Alava, belonging to the merchant Zulueta. This estate made, in 1847, upwards of 9,000 boxes. It is very well conducted. You cannot imagine anything more beautiful than the appearance at night of this estate, all lighted up with gas, and reminding you of the stories of your childhood about fairy palaces and incantations.—*Correspondence of a Philadelphia paper.*

LABUAN.—In a letter from a correspondent of the *Friend of China*, dated Labuan, 15th April, 1849, the following item is contained:—"Some more people who were held in slavery in Borneo have escaped to this place. They immediately found their way to the Lieutenant-Governor, and great was their joy when he kindly assured them that they were perfectly free, and could not be taken away again. This fact the Pangerans and Orang Cayu (rich men) studiously keep from their slaves, well knowing that, if aware of the fact, they would not willingly continue in bondage to them. To-day a large prahu, belonging to the Sultan, arrived with some Pangerans, bringing a message from Government. I was honoured with a visit on their return to their prahu."

Colonial Intelligence.

BRITISH GUIANA.—**IMMIGRATION.**—The Court of Policy having lately gone through the estimates for the year, the following item came up for consideration—50,000 dollars, for the interest and Sinking Fund on the loan for immigration purposes, when the following debate arose:—

Mr. Gordon contended that no sum ought to be put down for this purpose. Those who wanted immigrants should be made to pay for them. He wanted none, and he did not see why he should be taxed to pay for them. The Coolie immigrants were utterly useless; and the only immigration that could benefit the colony was African immigration at the expense of the Government.

Mr. White contended that one-third of the whole cultivation of the colony was kept up by immigrant labour.

Mr. Stuart confirmed Mr. White's statement. But for Coolie labour, the whole cultivation of Leguan and Wakenaam would have been abandoned.

It would do very well for the honourable member, whose estate was near town, to declare his independence of immigrant labour; but the honourable member, in stating the opinions which had fallen from him, represented nobody but himself.

Mr. White—The great evil which they had to complain of was the want of contracts.

Mr. Gordon—They were allowed to enter into contracts for three years.

Mr. White—But this was not sufficient. In the neighbouring island of Trinidad they had contracts for five years? but, from some vindictive feeling, the Government had denied the same liberty to this colony.

Mr. Stuart moved that the item be filled up, for the present, with 1,000 dollars.

Mr. White seconded the motion.

Mr. Gordon would move that the words be added—to be paid by the parties receiving the immigrants.

Governor—With so small a sum?

Mr. Gordon—His honourable friend had given them to understand that that sum was placed on only to keep the item open. They might soon have 10,000 dollars proposed.

Mr. Stuart—Certainly, it was only to keep the item open. His honourable friend's motion was not seconded, and he (Mr. Stuart) was glad of it. He was quite sure that any motion of the kind would fall to the ground.

Mr. Gordon was not quite so sure of that. It might not fall to the ground on another occasion for want of a seconder.

The motion of Mr. Stuart was agreed to.

Mr. White then brought forward his proposition with regard to the salary of the Immigration Agent-General. He had no motion to make, because the salary was not on the estimate; but he found in the bill that it was fixed at a maximum of £500. He would suggest to his Excellency, as all other salaries and establishments had been reduced, that the sum paid to the immigration agent should be reduced also.

The Governor did not wish to take the responsibility of reducing the salary without a vote or specific recommendation from the court.

Mr. Stuart—The difficulty was, that the salary was provided for in the bill, but not placed on the estimate. They would take care that such a thing should not occur again.

The matter was left over.

THE COOLIES.—**COURT OF POLICY, JUNE 28.**—Mr. Ferguson, in accordance with notice, made the following motion:—

"That the situation of a number of Coolie beggars and vagrants, wandering about the streets of Georgetown in a state of extreme destitution and misery, imperatively calls for the immediate interference of this court, and the adoption of measures calculated to ameliorate their unhappy condition. As a preliminary step, they must be placed under temporary, but necessary and wholesome restraint; and all who are evidently incapable of supporting themselves by labour should be conducted to an asylum, to be provided and prepared for this purpose, subject to such rules and regulations as may be agreed to by the court."

Mr. Ferguson having read the motion, proceeded to say that he thought it quite unnecessary to occupy the time of his Excellency, or that of the court, on the present occasion, with any lengthened remarks on the wretched and disgusting state of the Coolies wandering about the town and begging from door to door. It was enough that he had drawn the attention of his Excellency and the court to the subject, as it was well known that there were at least sixty or seventy of these unfortunate creatures to be daily seen in the public streets and thoroughfares, without any one to take care of them, or any place of shelter to resort to, save what they could obtain by lingering about gateways and in abandoned houses. Although their poverty and helplessness were obvious, it was against the very feelings of your nature to relieve them, for if one applied to you for charity, you were obliged to reject the application; because, if you did not, you would immediately have a whole tribe at your door, and they became a public nuisance. This was a state of things which ought not to exist in a civilised community, and in so respectable a town as Georgetown. He would now move that an item of 2,500 dollars be put on the estimate, to provide an asylum for Coolies unable to work.

The Governor said, he would be very happy to put such an item on the estimate, if the court would agree to it. He believed every word which had fallen from the hon. gentleman to be strictly correct.

The Government Secretary seconded the motion.

Mr. Rose opposed the motion. No such asylum as that proposed to be established was required. Was there not already an hospital for the sick? Were there not almshouses for the poor and destitute? And was there to be another staff for Coolies? If there was to be a separate asylum for them, there must be a separate staff. And was the colony to go to that expense, when it had already provided, on a most liberal scale, establishments for the reception of the sick and poor of all denominations? Perhaps the Coolies were not so able to take care of themselves as the Creoles and the Portuguese; but there were establishments for them to go to, where they would be taken care of. If the court was to go on in this way, there would be no end to it. Was there to be a

separate establishment and a separate staff for every class of the inhabitants? He was as anxious as the hon. member to provide for the Coolies, but no separate provision was necessary. They were inhabitants of the colony as well as others, and if they were poor and unable to work, let them be provided for as other poor were—let them go to the same establishments to which other persons in similar circumstances went.

Mr. White believed that the court was anxious to provide assistance for the really helpless Coolies. The hon. member had stated the number of Coolies about the town to be from sixty to seventy, but he (Mr. White) believed that the number was very much greater. Besides those wandering through the streets, begging from door to door, there was a large number who skulked about the decayed buildings in the outskirts of the town, and led a vagabond life. To provide an asylum for all these people would be a costly undertaking. No doubt there were many Coolies actually unable to support themselves by labour;—indeed, it was impossible to be a day in town without seeing them in a miserable and disgusting state of poverty and filth. But such of the Coolies as were able to work, and preferred begging, should be treated as vagrants; and if proper arrangements were made for punishing them as such, the Coolies would not crowd the streets as they did at present.

Mr. Stuart did not deny that there was a very large number of Coolies wandering about town, begging, resorting to the most disgusting practices to obtain food, and exhibiting themselves in a state offensive to decency, and incompatible with civilisation. But whose fault was that? Was it the fault of this court? He was quite sure it was not, and he was satisfied that his hon. friend was of the same opinion. But if his hon. friend would have an asylum for Coolies, would he stop there? Surely, if there was one for Coolies, there must be another for Portuguese. And why not one for every class in the colony? It was but fair, that if one class of the inhabitants of the colony had an asylum for its poor separate to itself, that every other class should be equally privileged. Nor would the separation of classes, the distinctions among them, stop here; for one concession would follow another, and the very next application would be for separate schools.

The Governor said the Coolies about the town were not able to work, and the evil was, that it would go forth to the world that these people were here, and that the court would do nothing for them.

Mr. Stuart did not wish it to go forth to the world that these people were here, and that the court would do nothing for them. They had been brought here, it was true, at the expense of the colony, and they would remain here, too, contrary to the wish of the court. It had not been the intention of the court to have such persons brought here at all, much less at the expense of the colony. But were they not vagrants by profession in their own country? Was not that a well-known fact? And was it not equally well known that they would not work—that they would rather starve than work for any wages? Now, there were many of these people who were able to do some work, and was it to be tolerated in a country like this, where work was always to be had, that persons able to work were to be supported at the public expense as paupers? Some of these vagrant Coolies might be now unable to work, but those who had been on estates ought to have remained there, where they always got work, for those who were not able to work in the field were employed about the buildings, in carrying megass, or otherwise, for which they got two bits a day, and a shelter to cover them—much more than any of them could ever earn in their own country.

Mr. Ferguson did not wish to prolong the debate, and therefore would merely refer hon. members to his motion, in which it would be found that relief was proposed for no Coolies but those who were incapable of supporting themselves.

The motion was not put to the vote, and as nothing more was said about it, it was understood to be withdrawn.

TRINIDAD.—On the 22nd of June, the ship *Agnes* arrived from Sierra Leone, having on board 267 captured Africans, viz., 150 men, fifty women, and sixty-seven children. We are sorry to hear complaints in reference to their distribution. It is currently insinuated that favouritism has not a little to do with the allocation of recently imported Africans. Certain would-be aristocratic individuals and firms are said to receive large lots from every slave cargo that arrives, while less presumptuous and less favoured applicants, though superior as regards mercantile sanity, honesty in all their transactions, and in kindness of heart, are refused, or but partially supplied. We should like to know the rule by which, and the terms on which, these poor helpless Africans are allocated in this land of freedom. We shall learn, and when we do, we promise to pillory the principle, if evil, and the man, whoever he may be, that is found guilty of partiality in the distribution of captured Africans.—*Trinidadian*.

PRO-SLAVERY RESOLUTIONS—THEIR REJECTION BY LORD GREY.—At a meeting of the Legislative Council, held on the 2nd, a despatch from Lord Grey was read, intimating the entire disapproval and disallowance of the eleven pro-slavery resolutions which our local legislative Solons, in the exercise of their wisdom and mercy, were lately pleased to

pass. We are told that the Board was speechless for some time after the reading of the despatch. Burnley was the first to muster breath and courage sufficient to break the painful silence, and the Attorney-General was the next that got his tongue loosed. These honourable gentlemen seemed ill at ease—indeed they looked the very picture of blank disappointment. And, really, no wonder that they should feel and look unwontedly awkward. Their darling scheme of domination had been ruthlessly despatched by the Colonial Don in Downing-street. The heartless hawk feels galled when its prey is snatched from out or under its very talons. So felt these honourable men on Monday. Surely our unelected legislators will one day cease to insult British ministers and the British public by concocting measures at open war with justice and humanity. The shades of night are fast closing around the policy and power of Burnley, Warner, and Co.—*Trinidadian*, July 4th.

EMIGRATION OF THE PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS TO AMERICA.—It has been the policy of our local government, for more than ten years, to prompt and promote immigration to this island. Most unwarrantable inducements were held out to Africans, Indians, Americans, and others. A free passage was offered them, and high wages and a comfortable home were promised them, and not only so, but to many of them the government promised to transport them gratis to their native land, or the places whence they came, after a residence of five years, should they at the close of that period feel unwilling (a thing supposed to be next to impossible) to make this western Paradise their permanent home. Thousands annually emigrated to our shores. The public treasury, at first overflowing, was drained to the very dregs. Wages fell, a necessary effect of a glut in the labour market. Multitudes of the immigrants were subjected to severe privations. They righteously complained of deceit, but their murmurs were drowned by the continued and increasing cry for more immigrants—a cry at once impolitic, heartless, and cruel, uttered by proprietors and planters. Great numbers of the immigrants, who had the means in their power, left the island. Nearly the whole of those from America have returned, preferring Yankee contempt and trampling to British freedom, such as it is in Trinidad; and a vast proportion of the immigrants from the old islands have gone back to their early homes. As for those from Africa and India, we believe they are all in the island whom death has spared. Many of them would gladly return whence they came, did opportunity offer. But government has no means of transporting them, and apparently has no wish to do so, though its means were ample. There can be no question that the government has glaringly broken faith with many of the immigrants. We have just, while writing, asked an intelligent and well-doing African immigrant (whom duty demanded to darken our door) who has been nearly seven years in the colony—When you agreed to come to Trinidad, did the government agent say anything about sending you back, if you wished to return to Africa, after a certain number of years? "Yes; we were told that after five years, if we did not like to stay here, we would get free passage back." Do you know any that wish to return to Africa? "Plenty wish very much." This testimony was only confirmatory of information that had been received by us unsought. Some of the African immigrants may and will find ways and means of escaping from this miserable pen, or law-fenced location, of humanity; but the poor Coolies—the wretchedly deceived Coolies—there is no hope or possibility of escape for them. They must submit to be buried in Trinidad,—and till death come, they must endure such treatment as their lords and our lawgivers shall choose to award to them. We hear that the Portuguese immigrants intend to emigrate to America in a body. The question may well be asked—it is an important one—"Why is it that immigrants to Trinidad leave, or are so anxious to leave?" It is not because the land is barren, and will not remunerate labour. It is amazingly fertile, and richly rewards cultivation. But is the island so limited in extent that it cannot comfortably contain and support the few thousands that inhabit it? On the contrary, the island is large—say eighty miles by thirty miles—and could support in comfort, nay enrich, ten times its present population, which we believe amounts to about 70,000. Why, then, this current emigration, and desire to emigrate from an island so rich in soil, so ample in extent, and so favourably situated, as Trinidad unquestionably is? The reply is short, but perfectly satisfactory, viz.: Bad government. The inhabitants have no political status. They are trampled on at pleasure by a despicable local oligarchy, sanctioned and sustained in ignorance, or something worse, by the British Government. The people are taxed to uphold unjustifiable and injurious institutions, to pamper government officials, and to bolster up the sinking sugar-lords who have hitherto cursed the colony. Notwithstanding the crowded state of the labour-market, and the growing misery of the labourers, the Government keep carefully closed up the Crown land, by imposing expensive preliminaries to its sale, and by demanding an extortionary and prohibitory price; and all the while desiring and inducing immigration, as if determined to deepen and extend the wrong and misery already existing. Unless the Government speedily and greatly alter its principles and practice, we shall feel it our imperative duty to urge and aid extensive immigration from Trinidad. There is neither available land nor remuneration.

rative labour for its present population, and yet immigration is the cry—a cry to which Government is willing, and only waits to reply. Oh, that we had men of enlightened mind at the helm of affairs! If we had, Trinidad would soon be a densely populous and prosperous island.—*Trinidadian*.

In a later number of the *Trinidadian* (July the 14th) the editor says, "We learn that the Portuguese immigrants from Madeira are leaving as fast as vessels can be procured."

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—THE SLAVE-TRADE.—An influential public meeting was held on the 1st of July last, at which the Bishop of the diocese presided, for the purpose of pressing on the Government the necessity for enforcing existing treaties with Spain and Brazil in relation to the slave-trade. We have only room for the resolutions which were adopted, which are as follows:—

Moved by the Attorney-General, seconded by the Rev. William Bradley:

1. "That the non-observance of the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade renders the competition between her Majesty's sugar producing colonies and those of Spain and Brazil a hopeless task."

Moved by the Hon. J. S. Berridge, seconded by Rev. Ebenezer Elliott:

2. "That in the absence of some measure for effectually securing the observance by the planters of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, of the laws consequent upon the treaties with their respective countries for the suppression of the slave-trade, the Sugar Bill of 1846 will, at the same time that it works out the destruction of her Majesty's sugar-producing colonies, stimulate the slave-trade, and perpetuate the system of slavery."

Moved by His Honour the Puisne Judge, seconded by A. P. Burt, Esq.:

3. "That a considerable portion of the slave population of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Brazils, consists of Africans imported since the execution of the various treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, and this meeting being of opinion that all such Africans, under and by virtue of the said treaties, and the several edicts and laws of the respective dominions, promulgated and passed in furtherance thereof, are, *de jure*, freemen—resolve to memorialise her most gracious Majesty, and to petition the two Houses of the Imperial Parliament, to urge on the Spanish and Brazilian Governments some effectual plan, by Mixed Commission, or otherwise, whereby to secure the release from bondage of such of our fellow-creatures as are now illegally subjected to the degrading and debasing system of slavery, existing in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Brazils, and also to prevent any further infraction of the said several treaties."

Moved by Richard Challenger, Esq., seconded by Rev. E. Elliott:

4. "That a committee be appointed, to frame the memorial to Her Majesty, and the petitions to the two Houses of the Imperial Parliament, and that the Right Rev. Chairman of this meeting be requested to sign the memorial to Her Majesty, on behalf of this meeting."

Moved by A. Davoren, Esq., seconded by W. W. Rawlins, Esq.:

5. "That his Lordship the Right Rev. Chairman be requested to entrust the petition to the House of Lords to some Peer of that House, and to enlist his support in furtherance of the object of this meeting; and that the Island Agent, Mr. Colquhoun, be requested to take charge of the memorial to her Majesty, and of the petition to the House of Commons."

Moved by J. D. Roger, Esq., seconded by A. P. Burt, Esq.:

6. "That the thanks of this meeting be respectfully offered to our Chairman, the Bishop of the diocese, for the able manner in which he has presided on this occasion."

MAURITIUS.—The latest advices come down to the 23rd of June. Sir George W. Anderson, the new governor, having arrived out, had been very favourably received by the colonists. The appointment of Mr. Macaulay, as colonial secretary, however, seems to have excited dissatisfaction, his alleged avowed antipathy to the Creole population creating a prejudice against him. This is regarded as the only drawback to the administration of affairs in the island. It was stated that the first acts of Sir George Anderson had proved exceedingly popular, and he had opened a negotiation with the directors of the Commercial Bank respecting measures to be adopted for the assistance of the mercantile community. A comparative statement of the shipments of sugar, for the last three years, made up to the 31st of May, showed the following results:—viz., that the shipments to London of the crop 1846-7 were 83,600,887 lbs., against 69,476,873 lbs. of the crop 1847-8, and against 55,694,807 lbs. of the crop 1848-9; while the gross shipments to the United Kingdom, including London, were 122,207,851 lbs., 94,523,353 lbs., and 99,666,179 lbs. for these respective years. The total shipments for all places were—of the crop 1846-7, 129,443,381 lbs.; of the crop 1847-8, 106,839,197 lbs.; and of the crop 1848-9, 99,198,525 lbs.

Miscellaneous.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—By her Majesty's sloop *Contest*, 12, Commander Archibald Macmurdo, lately arrived at Spithead from the west coast of Africa, we are in the receipt of intelligence from the slave coast to the 11th of July, and from the more southern and distant portions of that coast to the 1st of June. The slave-trade was particularly brisk on the Benguela division of the station, judging from the number of captures which have been recently made there. There was not much apparently doing on the Bights of Benin, nor on the Sierra Leone line of coast. Off Benguela and the adjoining slave haunts to the northward, no less than six vessels had been captured during the month of May, two of which had human cargoes on board, and in such a state of filth and destitution as cannot well be conceived, much less described. In a small schooner captured off Old Benguela, by the *Contest*, on the 30th of April last, no less than 180 human beings were huddled together on the upper decks, exposed not only to the winds and weather, but to the violence of the waves which occasionally washed the decks of the vessel from stem to stern. In the beginning of May, off the same slave haunt, the *Cygnets*, 10, Com. Robertson, picked up a similar vessel with 300 on board, and it was currently reported that the *Boarer*, late an American vessel-of-war, had escaped from this coast but a few days previously, with 500 on board. The other vessels captured here were all empty, one schooner by *Dart*, another by *Spy*, a third by *Dolphin*, and a large barque, completely fitted for the slave-trade, by a Portuguese cruiser. We regret exceedingly to have to announce the death of Captain W. C. Wood, of the *Philomel*, who expired off Loando on the 4th June, after a long and protracted illness from repeated attacks of fever. The *Philomel* is now commanded by the flag-lieutenant, who will, doubtless, be confirmed in the death vacancy. She is the next on the roll for England, and is expected to leave the coast on the 1st of August. The *Centaur* steam-frigate, Capt. Buckle, with the flag of Commodore Fanshawe, C.B., had arrived at Loando on a tour of inspection of the division of cruisers on the south coast.

In the Bight of Benin the following vessels are cruising:—viz., *Rattler* and *Teazer*, steamers, and *Kingfisher* and *Bonetta*, brigs. *Teazer* has been remarkably successful, having captured three fine vessels during her short term of service in these waters: one of them had 590 slaves on board.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD OF SCOTLAND.—This body, recently formed by the union of two branches of the Presbyterian church of Scotland, met in Edinburgh on the 14th of May. Amongst other business which came before them was the Report of the committee appointed to answer a communication from the Synod of New York, of the Associate Reformed Church of America. The committee reported a letter which they had written to the New York Synod. After expressing gratification at the missionary and other exertions of the Synod, it went on to say:—

"But you observe silence regarding the views and position of the Associate Reformed Church on the subject of slavery, and on the cognate question of the separation of the coloured from the white population, which were, in the most sacred institutions of religion, kept up by Protestant churches in the United States. According to our information, one of the Synods of your church is deeply implicated in the sin of slavery, as admitting slaveholders into its fellowship, and containing such among its members and office-bearers. We understand, also, that with the ministers and members of that portion of the Associate Reformed Church, those of the other portions, though, it may be, condemning slavery, continued in fellowship. And it is farther reported to us, that within the congregations of your own Synod, the separation of the coloured population from the white is kept up in public worship and at the Lord's table. On this matter the United Presbyterian Church had, in both of its branches, previously to the union, emitted a decided testimony, condemning slavery in all its forms, and disclaiming fellowship with any and all churches in America, however agreed with us in doctrinal standards, and in forms of worship and government, which connived at slavery under any modification, or continued the obnoxious distinction in the house of God between the white and coloured population already referred to. This testimony we have renewed during the present session." The letter then states, that the Synod were very desirous of obtaining from the American Synod accurate information in relation to their sentiments and practice on this subject; and says, "that an assurance that they repudiated fellowship with slaveholders, and that they had abolished the negro or coloured pew in their congregations, would afford unmingled joy; and viewed in connection with her standards as a Presbyterian Church, would commend them to the hearty confidence and affection of the United Presbyterian Synod, and would enable them to yield a prompt and delightful compliance with the special request in their letter."

This letter was unanimously agreed to.